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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

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MEMORIALS OF OLD YORKSHIRE

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YORK FROM THE NORTH-WEST, SHOWING BOOTHAM BAR AND THE MINSTER.

MEMORIALS OF OLD YORKSHIRE

EDITED BY

T. M. FALLOW, M.A., F.S.A.

Member of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
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TO

SIR GEORGE JOHN ARMYTAGE

OF KIRKLEES, BARONET, F.S.A., &c., &c.

PRESIDENT OF THE YORKSHIRE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THIS VOLUME

IS

DEDICATED

WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

PREFACE

YORKSHIRE has an area almost equal to that of Wales, and everything connected with it is on a correspondingly big scale. Its Memorials are inexhaustible, and it has seemed the better plan to deal thoroughly with a few of them than to fill this volume with scraps of all sorts of topics. Hence in the *Memorials of Old Yorkshire* there is less variety than in some other volumes of the series. No book of this size could attempt the impossible task of covering the past history of Yorkshire, or of treating its Memorials with any degree of completeness. Certain subjects, such, for instance, as the notable one of the monastic history of the county, are not included in this book. This latter subject (a paper on which has been prepared) can only be dealt with at considerable length, and it has been decided to withhold it for a companion volume, where, with other obvious omissions from the present book, it may find a place.

The comprehensive and thorough manner in which many subjects are handled by the writers in the present volume, will, it is hoped, give a permanent value to it, and render it acceptable to all lovers of the ancient shire.

The Editor desires to express his gratitude to the authors of the various chapters, and especially to Mr. Keyser, who is widely recognised as the chief authority on the architectural details of Norman doorways, for the presentation of the fine series of Plates which illustrate the chapter he has contributed on that subject.

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PREHISTORIC YORKSHIRE

By George Clinch, F.G.S., F.S.A. Scot.

THE prehistoric antiquities of Yorkshire are at once abundant and important; they comprise not only implements, tools, weapons, and other objects in flint, stone, bronze, and iron, but also earthworks, early roads, megalithic monuments, and rock sculptures. There are certain circumstances which have contributed to make the Yorkshire discoveries specially valuable. The wild, uncultivated condition of the moors, and, until comparatively recent years, of the wolds also, has tended to preserve the ancient remains in their original state and position. In addition to this, Yorkshire has been peculiarly fortunate in having attracted the attention, not only of numerous collectors who have gathered and preserved her antiquarian treasures, but also of archæologists who have systematically and scientifically examined the sepulchral deposits of past races, recording with precision the character, position, and relation of the various remains.

Amongst the distinguished antiquaries whose names are most intimately associated with this investigation are Canon Greenwell, Mr. Thomas Boynton, and Mr. J. R. Mortimer of Driffield. The last-named, in the course of his long-extended researches, has opened nearly three hundred sepulchral barrows of the Stone and Bronze Ages, and more than sixty belonging to the Early Iron Age.

The prehistoric archæology of Yorkshire is far too large a subject to be dealt with in any detail in a paper

of this length and scope, but a few of the main characteristics may be noted.

BARROWS. — The barrows, or mounds erected over sepulchral deposits, have been referred to.

In form the barrows of Yorkshire are either long or circular; but this division, which in certain parts of the country agrees fairly accurately with the Stone Age and the Bronze Age respectively, does not apply equally to all the Yorkshire barrows. The fact is, there was considerable intercourse between the neolithic race and the Bronze Age race. This is indicated in the funeral customs and in racial characteristics.

Generally speaking, the Yorkshire barrows are bowl-shaped and conical, the bowl-shaped examples being more numerous than the others. Many have suffered a great deal from farming operations which, of course, have tended to level them. Probably many of the barrows on the wolds had originally an encircling mound or ditch, or both, at the base; but generally speaking, these have been destroyed by the plough. Several barrows at Wykeham Moor, in the North Riding, and at Riccall and Skipwith, in the East Riding, are furnished with a ditch round the base, and it is believed that this method of enclosure represents another version of the same idea of defence or isolation as that shown in the circles of upright or leaning stones round barrows in other parts of the country.

In size the barrows of the wolds vary to some extent, the usual dimensions ranging from 15 ft. to 20 ft. in diameter, and from 1 ft. to 24 ft. in height. This variation of size, however, is hardly as pronounced as that of the barrows in other districts.

As far as materials are concerned, it has been observed that these have always been such as could be obtained in the immediate vicinity of the barrow, and there is reason to believe that they were invariably obtained from the surface of the land close by. Sometimes the chalk obtained

by the digging of the grave was employed in the building up of the barrow. The only foreign material ever noticed by Canon Greenwell in the Yorkshire barrows was in the form of slabs of stone used in making cists.

A very curious fact about the Yorkshire barrows is that within the structure of the actual mound there are occasionally enclosing circles, made in one case with flint stones and in another case in the form of a circular trench in the earth. These circles were found to be not quite complete. The similarity of these broken circles, and the incomplete circles found in association with cup and ring markings in rocks, and also with the penannular rings of bronze and gold and other prehistoric remains, is too obvious to escape the attention of the archæologists. Canon Greenwell regards this as an attempt by the superstitious to enclose the spirit of the departed within the barrow: "They were intended to prevent the exit of the spirit of those buried within, rather than to guard against disturbance from without. A dread of injury by the spirits of the dead has been very commonly felt by many savage and semi-civilised peoples; nor, indeed, is such fear unknown in our own times, and even in this country; and it may well be that, by means of this symbolic figure, it was thought this danger might be averted and the dead kept safe within the tomb."

A curious and interesting fact is pointed out by Canon Greenwell.[1] It appears that the south and the east sides of the barrows were preferred for interment, burials rarely being found on the north and west. He writes: "It is probable that the desire to face the sun guided them in this, as it has other peoples. The feeling still exists among ourselves; for the prejudice against burying on the north, the dark side of the churchyard, is strong in most parts of England, and it is only where the crowded state of the burial-ground has compelled it

[1] *British Barrows*, p. 13.

that others than unbaptized children and suicides have been buried there. The same rule has held in ancient times in other places. Nearly all the dolmens of Brittany have the openings between the south and east points of the compass; and the avenues in the same country appear to have a like orientation."

Another ancient custom which was in vogue when the Yorkshire barrows were being constructed, and has come down almost to our own times, is the throwing of flints and potsherds upon the sepulchral mounds, evidently with some religious or symbolic intention. The incident mentioned by Shakespeare in *Hamlet*, Act v. sc. 1,

> "For charitable prayers,
> Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her,"

will occur at once to the mind, and there is every reason to believe that the same custom existed in very early times in Yorkshire, where bits of broken vessels of pottery are found in large numbers scattered throughout the barrows. These potsherds are sometimes fragments of the ordinary sepulchral pottery, but more frequently of vessels which, on account of their better firing and the absence of ornament, appear to be those of domestic utensils. Both flints and potsherds are found distributed throughout the whole of a mound, and in some instances in such quantities as to suggest the idea that the persons who were engaged in throwing up the barrow scattered them from time to time during the process. If the fragments belonged to vessels broken at the funeral feast, one would expect to find many pieces belonging to the same vessel; but this is not the case, sometimes single fragments of at least twenty different utensils having been found in the same sepulchral mound.

BRONZE AGE ANTIQUITIES.—We may now briefly consider some of the antiquities of Yorkshire which may be classified with some confidence as of purely Bronze Age origin.

These comprise implements and weapons of bronze and pottery. The former have been found singly and in groups, or hoards. Hoards may be divided into three main classes, namely: (*a*) Personal hoards, containing the property of an individual who had buried the objects underground for security, and, for some reason, never recovered the treasure; (*b*) merchants' hoards, the stock of implements or weapons ready for use, and probably carried about from place to place for sale; and (*c*) founders' hoards, consisting of broken or disused weapons, implements, &c., collected for the purpose of re-melting, and often accompanied by moulds for the casting of fresh implements.

The special importance of hoards, as Sir John Evans states, arises from the fact that they show, within certain limits, what objects are contemporary. The chief points they prove are as follows:—

(1) Flat celts and knife-daggers, such as are found in British barrows, occur only very rarely in hoards.

(2) Flanged celts and palstaves are sometimes found in association, but palstaves are often found with socketed celts.

(3) Tanged implements of any kind are rarely found with socketed specimens.

(4) Torcs, or twisted collars, are more often associated with palstaves than with socketed celts, and are mainly confined to the western counties.

(5) Metal moulds and rough lumps of copper are generally associated with socketed celts.

These facts go to show that the flat celts and tanged implements, generally speaking, belong to the earlier part of the Bronze Age, whilst palstaves, socketed celts, and socketed articles generally are of later date. Hoards, again, are later than barrows, and metal moulds for casting bronze objects also belong to the latter part of the period, the moulds of the earlier part having been made of sand or clay.

Vessels of pottery are amongst the most important antiquities of the Bronze Age.

Nearly every example of Bronze Age pottery found in England has been obtained from barrows, and the vast majority of it was evidently specially made for sepulchral purposes.

All the pottery of the Bronze Age was hand-made; that is to say, it was shaped by hand without the assistance of the potter's wheel, and much of it is composed of inferior clay and has been imperfectly baked. Ornament in greater or lesser degree was usually employed on the outside of the pottery.

Sepulchral pottery has been divided into four classes, known as (1) food-vessels, (2) drinking-vessels, (3) cinerary urns, and (4) incense-cups, terms, however, which must not be taken as literally descriptive of the uses to which the vessels were applied.

The so-called "food-vessels," of which large numbers have been found in Yorkshire, are somewhat thick in make and composed of coarse materials. They are found with both burnt and unburnt burials, and in several cases cremated human remains have been found within them. "Drinking-cups" are smaller, taller, and more cylindrical in form, and appear to be of somewhat earlier use, as they are rarely, if ever, found with burnt burials. There are several types of "drinking-cups," but generally the lower part, or body, is somewhat globular, whilst the neck is cylindrical or slightly funnel-shaped. Cinerary urns, as the name implies, were intended to serve as receptacles for the cremated remains of the body. In general shape they somewhat resemble "drinking-cups," from which the idea was perhaps derived, but they are of much larger size. A broad flat rim or lip, and a more or less constricted neck or waist, are constant features.

EARLY IRON AGE.—Yorkshire has furnished some most valuable remains of what is known as the Early Iron Age.

Food Vessel of elaborate form.
Norton, near Malton.

Food Vessel. East Acklam.

Cinerary Urn. Thorpe, near Bridlington.

Incense Cup.
Langdale End,
N. Riding.

Drinking Cup. York.

TYPICAL POTTERY OF THE BRONZE AGE IN YORKSHIRE.

This period, or stage, of culture immediately followed the Bronze Age, and was succeeded by the Romano-British Age, a period when historical records and inscriptions enable us to assign events to precise dates.

The most characteristic thing about the Early Iron Age was, not the absence of bronze (indeed, it was very largely used throughout the period), but the presence of iron, especially in such weapons, tools, or implements as required sharp edges or points, and pliability combined with toughness, qualities which bronze lacked. Several of the swords, for instance, whilst having iron blades, were furnished with bronze hilts, guards, and scabbards.

Perhaps the most remarkable remains of the Early Iron Age, found anywhere in this country, have been procured from graves in Yorkshire.

In the year 1897 a noteworthy sepulchral deposit, comprising a chariot burial, was discovered at Danes Graves, near Driffield. The discoverer was Mr. J. R. Mortimer, who has explored hundreds of ancient burials in the neighbourhood of Driffield. As this discovery is of special importance, a few details may be given.

The remains comprised the iron hoops of the wheels and naves, and rings of bronze and iron belonging to the chariot and the horse trappings, together with two adult skeletons, probably the remains of the owner of the chariot and his charioteer.

The occurrence of two human skeletons in one grave is a circumstance of the highest significance. It probably implies human sacrifice. The intention of chariot burial was clearly to make provision for the dead chieftain in a future state of existence. Chariot, harness, trappings, charioteer, in some cases a pair of horses, and trophies of the chase, such as wild boars and other animals, were buried with the body of the dead chief in order to minister to his needs in the next world.

An interesting feature in this burial at Danes Graves was the presence of remains of the wild boar. Some

antiquaries think (and there is much to support the opinion) that religious or superstitious beliefs were connected with this animal. A curiously grotesque figure of the boar appears on the fine shield found in the river Witham in Lincolnshire. Another one of iron, with bronze eyes, occurred on the celebrated iron helmet found in the Benty Grange barrow, Derbyshire. Three quaint little bronze figures of boars, evidently belonging to the Early Iron Age, were discovered at Hounslow, Middlesex. These facts, taken in connection with the frequent presence of the actual bones of the boar with the chariot burials, certainly point to the conclusion that the animal was held in high estimation by the people of this early period. It is, of course, possible that the actual remains of the animals in graves may indicate that food in this form was provided for the buried warrior, but such an explanation does not elucidate the figures represented in metal on the shield and helmet referred to.

It is worthy of note, too, that the horse, which in some cases was certainly buried with the chariot and the warrior, was another animal held in considerable esteem, if indeed not more than esteem, by the Early Iron Age people. Hillside figures of the horse, represented in gigantic proportions so as to be seen from great distances, occur in different parts of England, and, judging from the well-known example at Uffington, Berkshire, they may be safely referred to a pre-Roman period. It seems probable that both the boar and the horse were treated with special veneration or esteem, if not worship.

It is worthy of note that the Witham boar and the Uffington white horse are both treated in a conventional manner; this is especially seen in the attenuated body and the grotesquely shaped head.

Remains of other Yorkshire chariot burials have been discovered at Haywold, near Huggate, but unfortunately no care was taken to secure the remains; and also in 1888, during the construction of the Driffield and Market

Weighton Railway, in a deep cutting between Middleton and Enthorpe stations. An ornamental pin or butt, of the kind often called linch-pins, was secured from the latter interment and is now in the possession of Mr. J. R. Mortimer.

A chariot burial was found at Pickering, in the North Riding, in or about the year 1849. Curiously enough, although the general form of the chariot, the tires of the wheels, and even traces of the pole (7 ft. in length) were found in an entirely undisturbed condition, no bones or other trace of human or animal interment were found, and it has been suggested, with considerable probability, that the actual grave still remains unexplored.

The special honour given to particular animals is well shown in the sepulchral mounds of other districts besides Yorkshire. In the barrows of the north of Staffordshire remains were found which pointed to the careful interment of the heads of oxen. In the remarkable barrow at Swinscoe, called Top Low, the skeleton of a young hog was buried in a separate place and enclosed in a stone cist specially constructed to receive it.

In some cases beautifully enamelled bridle-bits of bronze, as well as articles for personal ornamentation, have been found with Early Iron Age interments. A splendid example of a horse-bit, ornamented with enamel, was found at Rise, near Hull, and is now in the national collection at the British Museum. Another example, but less ornate and unadorned with enamel, was found in a barrow at Arras, near Market Weighton, many years ago.

The barrows at Arras and Hessleskew have furnished other remarkable examples of skilful and tasteful workmanship. Glass beads with various ornamental features, and brooches and pendant ornaments encrusted with slices of coral, are amongst the many beautiful relics taken from these graves.

Stanwick, in the North Riding, has furnished a large number of metal objects, some for personal decoration,

including an S-shaped and enamelled brooch, and several fittings for the chariot and horse-harness.

From what has been shown in this brief article it will be generally admitted that the impression produced by a study of the prehistoric monuments and remains of Yorkshire is one of surprise that, at such a remote period, the arts of civilisation had reached a decidedly advanced stage. The skill involved in making the fine bronze-castings of the Bronze Age, and the splendid enamels of the Late Celtic period, was of a very high order. It will be noted that in both these arts the most remarkable amount of skill was expended upon objects of ornamental rather than utilitarian character.

One understands the savage exercising and developing his utmost powers in producing a specially useful fish-hook or arrow, or a trenchant and well-balanced sword. These were essential for procuring food, and for successful conflict with foes. One understands the skilful efforts of the mediæval castle-builder, who constructed his stronghold with curious ingenuity in the matter of choice of situation, selection of material, planning and elevation, so as to withstand unwelcome visitors or treacherous intruders. But in the prehistoric achievements of the men of Yorkshire we find an extremely advanced state of proficiency in the production of partially or purely ornamental objects.

It is a peculiarly interesting fact that a county so large, so wealthy, so cultivated, and so rich in intellectual endowments as Yorkshire unquestionably is, should have shown so early a skill in the metallurgical arts, and an inclination towards refinement, which at the present time comprise at least two elements of the county's greatness.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE

By J. Norton Dickons

IT is not intended in this paper to relate in detail the history of the Roman conquest of Yorkshire, but rather to point out some memorials of the Roman occupation still to be found in modern Yorkshire, a county which Professor Haverfield described as one of extraordinary interest, and perhaps the most interesting county in England for its Roman remains.

At the time of the Roman invasion, Yorkshire formed part of the district lying between the Humber, the Mersey, and the present border of Scotland, occupied by the fierce and warlike confederation of tribes known by the name of "Brigantes."

The county was difficult of access, and only sparsely populated. The great central plain of York, lying between the eastern wolds and the hills and dales of the western and north-eastern moors, and extending to the borders of Derbyshire, was a huge woodland waste, extending to the Walls of York. The district around Leeds, afterwards known as the Saxon kingdom of Elmete, was a vast forest stretching to the head waters of the rivers on the west and filling all the valley bottoms with a dense scrub. The south-eastern portion of the county, into which the Don, Idle, and Trent poured their unregulated waters, was an impassable morass, along the western side of which ran a line of British entrenchments (still to be traced) from Wincobank to Mexbrough. The western moors and dales on the slopes of Blackstone Edge and Stanedge, forming the boundary between the

present Yorkshire and Lancashire, were so bleak and desolate that they were in after ages known as "Desert." Here and there on the banks of the rivers were settlements of the inhabitants, communicating with each other by narrow and devious tracks. The bulk of the population was not, as now, gathered in the West Riding, but was settled on the eastern wolds, where the streams break out and run into the valleys below.

The period when the Romans first appeared in Yorkshire cannot be accurately determined. The better opinion seems to be that the real conqueror was Petilius Cerialis, the Imperial Legate (A.D. 71–75), who, advancing from Lincoln across the Humber, "struck terror into the enemy by an attack upon the Brigantes, who were reputed to compose the most populous state in the whole province. Many battles were fought, some of them attended by much bloodshed, and the greater part of the Brigantes were either brought into subjection or involved in the ravages of war."[1]

But the work of completing the conquest of the Brigantes and of consolidating the Roman power was done by C. Julius Agricola, Imperial Legate A.D. 78–84, who, as we are informed by his son-in-law, Tacitus, instructed the conquered tribes in the art of building houses, temples, and places of public resort, and taught the sons of their chiefs the liberal sciences, and the Roman language, customs, and manners. But there is another side of this picture of Romanisation. . . . "The Romans indeed felled forests, laid out roads, embanked rivers, and constructed causeways; but the real work fell upon the ill-clad and half-starved Britons who groaned under the burden of felling trees, opening quarries, and carrying stones, and complained that their lives were worn out in the service of their rigorous taskmasters."

No lapidary inscription in Yorkshire referring to

---

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, ch. xvii.

Agricola has been found, but from the list of Brigantian towns preserved to us in the Geography of C. Ptolemy (*circa* A.D. 138) we may assume that Agricola selected the most suitable British sites, such as are now represented by York, Malton, Ilkley, and Aldborough for Roman stations.

The Romans have left us few notices of the internal affairs of Britain, and for many years subsequent to the departure of Agricola, Britain is scarcely noticed by historians until the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in person (A.D. 120), and from that period to the final departure of the Romans, the lapidary and literary notices of their occupation are few and far between, notwithstanding that Eboracum (York) was not only the chief seat of civil government, but the headquarters of the Roman military power for the greater part of three hundred years.

Unlike the southern and eastern parts of Britain, the Caledonian and Welsh tribes were never thoroughly subdued, and were always more or less in a chronic state of feud; indeed we read of a rebellion of the Brigantes so late as the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161). To keep the northern tribes in check, and to protect the lowlands from invasion, the Emperor Hadrian constructed the great mural fortification extending from the Tyne to the Solway and commonly known as "the Wall." The disposition of the Roman forces in Britain, at all events after the reign of Hadrian, was wholly with a view to the defence of the northern and western frontiers. "The Wall" was defended by numerous bodies of Auxiliaries, but the Legionaries were placed in the rear at York and Chester (Deva).

To facilitate the movements of the troops from the south to "the Wall," the Romans constructed three principal lines of roads (the modern railways of the east and west coasts and Midland lines follow in the main the directions of these roads). The western line was the

famous road known as "Watling Street," running from Richborough (Ritupæ) across England to Chester and thence by Aldborough (Isurium) to Carlisle and the Wall. The eastern line was the western branch of the road commonly called "The Ermine Street," from Lincoln (Lindum) to York by way of Doncaster (Danum). A third legionary road led from Lincoln to Winteringham, and crossing the Humber to Brough, proceeded by an ancient British way to Malton and thence to the Wall, throwing off a branch to York by Kexby at Stamford Bridge; but all the military forces for the Wall (at all events after the rise of York) passed along the road from Isurium (Aldborough) to Catarractonium, where the road divided, one branch proceeding by Lavatræ (Bowes) to the western, and the other by Pierce Bridge to the eastern part of the Wall.

THE ROADS.—Perhaps the most enduring monuments of Roman occupation are the Roman roads. They have in some instances been continued as public roads, or incorporated with modern turnpikes. The road from Castleford to Aberford is an example of the former; and the road from Aldborough to Catterick, called Leeming Lane, of the other. Many of the roads mentioned by Horsley, Drake, Stukeley, and Whitaker have ceased to exist, and with the exception of the road over Blackstone Edge and of the road between Barnsdale Bars and Bodles, near Doncaster, it may be safely asserted that little of the Roman roads not incorporated with public roads now remains.

Several degrees or kinds of roads appear to have been made. There were first the great military (legionary) thoroughfares, such as Watling Street and the Ermine Road, forming direct communication between Ritupæ and the Wall. Then there were subsidiary military ways which are not always mentioned in the *Itinerary*, such as the road over Blackstone Edge, between Manchester and Ilkley. Also cross or vicinal ways between various stations, branch

roads, private roads, county roads, and bye-roads (*deviæ*). The cross roads were lines of communication between the legionary ways, and generally the shortest line that could be drawn. It has been suggested that some of these cross ways and vicinal branches were not intended for military, but for commercial purposes, inasmuch as they were not constructed in so durable a manner as the principal ways, and for that reason have been more generally ruined and lost, yet they were often sufficiently good to leave distinct traces down to the present time.

There are few Roman roads existing which do not in some way or other vary from the description of a road given by Vitruvius ;[1] some are entirely without the *nucleus*, in others there was no *statumen*. Probably the legionary ways and some of the more important subsidiary ways were constructed on the lines laid down by Vitruvius, but others were not paved, but constructed of gravel or other local material strengthened by cobbles and small stones. Yorkshire possesses specimens of both kinds of roads, and perhaps the most perfect specimen of a paved Roman road in England is to be found on the road hereinafter described (from Aldborough to Manchester over Blackstone Edge), and the finest specimen of an unpaved road is near Adwick le Street, where one of the most conspicuous and best existing remains of a Roman road in Yorkshire is to found.

On all the great Roman roads the distances were marked out with the greatest care, and at the end of each "mille passus," or Roman mile, was erected a miliary column, or milestone (*milliarium*), with an inscription, indicating the distance from the last town. These milestones usually consisted of a large plain cylinder of stone raised on a base ; the inscription (probably in red lettering) stated the name of the emperor under whose reign it was erected. Very few of these milestones have been preserved, and fewer still are to be found *in situ*.

[1] Wright, *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 5th edit., p. 221, has fully described the construction of a Roman road.

Three have been found in Yorkshire; one bearing the names of the joint Emperors Gallus and Volusianus (*circa* A.D. 253) was found by the side of the Roman road near the George Inn at Greta, inscribed "To the Emperors, our Lords Gallus and Volusianus (A.D. 251–3)."[1]

Another milestone, a block of sandstone about 5 feet long and 10 inches in diameter, was found at Castleford in 1880 close to the Roman road and at a depth of 3 feet. It was erected in the reign of the Emperor Decius (A.D. 249), and (*a*) inscribed to him, and after his death appears to have been inverted and an inscription (*b*) to his successors, the joint Emperors Gallus and Volusianus, cut on the other end. In September 1897 Professor Haverfield purchased the stone and presented it to the Leeds Museum. The inscriptions are given by him as follows:—

(*a*) Imp(eratore), C(æsare), C. M(essio), Q(uinto), Decio p(io), f(elici), Aug(usto), et C. M(essio), Q(uinto, Etru[s]co.

(*b*) Imp(eratoribus), C(æsaribus), C. Vibio Gallo et C. V(ibio), Volusiano p(iis), f(elicibus), Aug(ustis), Eb(uraco), m(illia), p(assuum) XX.

Mr. Haverfield in his paper[2] says:—

"The indication of distance from York is interesting. By the line of the Roman road through Tadcaster to Aberford, the distance from York to Castleford is about twenty English miles. The *Itinerary* gives twenty-one Roman miles. The Roman mile was a trifle shorter than the English mile, so that the agreement is fairly close. It will be even closer if we assume that our milestone was the twenty-second, and that the twenty-first milestone stood half a mile north of Castleford 'station' just as this stands half a mile south. In that case, the actual distance from York to Castleford would have been, by the Roman road, twenty-one and a half Roman miles."

A third milestone is preserved in the old Manor House at Aldborough. The inscription runs: "To the Emperor Cæsar Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, the good, happy, and great; from C—— twenty miles." The blank after C has been proposed to be filled up by Calcaria

[1] Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 339.
[2] "The Roman Milestone found at Castleford."

(Tadcaster), or Cattaractonium (Catterick). Decius was slain in battle A.D. 251.

Yorkshire is covered by a network of Roman roads, many of which can still be traced. Three at least of the legionary roads crossed Yorkshire, and it is necessary to give some account of them. Our chief authorities for these military routes are the *Itinerary of Antoninus* for the earlier period of the Roman conquest, and the *Notitia* for the period immediately preceding the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans.[1]

The *Itinerary* omits certain stations, such as Greta Bridge and Pierce Bridge, and omits to notice several roads, such as the one over Blackstone Edge, and Wade's Causeway over the moors between Malton and Sandsend. Some places are called by different names and the distances between stations do not agree with the actual distances, but, making allowances for omissions and for probable errors in transcriptions, it is our best authority for the direction of the roads and the sites of the stations of the Romans.

The principal roads passing through Yorkshire are the first, second, and fifth Iters. Although in the majority of cases the Roman roads centred in York, it is somewhat remarkable how the legionary roads in the early times seem to have avoided York.

THE FIRST ITER.—Taking the Itineraries so far as they relate to Yorkshire in the order in which they appear, the first Iter is entitled "From the limit (*i.e.* the Roman Wall) to the Prætorium 156 miles."[2]

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[1] The *Itinerary* is a sort of working road-book compiled *circa* A.D. 138–140 (some authorities place the date much later), and contains a list of the chief military roads with the names of the several stations thereon, and an approximate measurement of the distances between each station. The *Notitia* was a sort of military return of the troops stationed in Britain shortly before the withdrawal of the Romans. It is valuable as giving the disposition of the Roman auxiliaries in Britain.

[2] The sum of the distances usually given is 150 M.P., but it does not agree with the total of the miles at the head of the Iter.

The Iter enters Yorkshire at Pierce Bridge on the Tees, where it crossed the river by a ford. No station at Pierce Bridge is named in the *Itinerary*, but from the *Notitia* we find that shortly before the Romans finally abandoned England, a detachment of "Pacenses" was stationed at Pierce Bridge. Various antiquities have been found on the site, and in particular a Roman bronze[1] representing a plough of primitive construction, drawn by oxen; the figure of the ploughman probably gives a correct picture of the costume of a Roman-British peasant. The Iter after crossing the river continued in a straight line to a place now called Scotch Corner, where the western branch of Watling Street from Carlisle, forming the second Iter, fell into the road, and the joint Itinera proceeded to Catterick. For the greater portion of the distance the Roman and modern roads coincide, though the stones have been nearly all taken to mend the modern road.[2]

The next station on the Iter was Catarractonium (Catterick), mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the towns of the Brigantes. The site of the station has been ascertained to be Thornborough, about half a mile west of Catterick Bridge, where a portion of a wall about 90 yards long and 5 feet high has been cleared and partly rebuilt (for the sake of preservation). Recent excavations have shown that the station was a walled camp like that at York, about 240 by 175 yards, and included a site of about 9 acres. Within or near this enclosure, various sculptured stones have been found, but there does not seem to be any foundation for the statement attributed to Bede that the Romans had a mint at Catarractonium or in fact at any place in Yorkshire, though moulds for forging coins have been found. The Roman road from Catterick to Aldborough does not coincide altogether with the modern road, but follows in the main the line of Leeming Lane, no part of it being more

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[1] Figured in Wright's *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 5th edit., p. 256.
[2] *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi. p. 217.

than a mile away from a straight line.[1] From Aldborough the road went to York, but is now lost. From York the first Iter is said to have proceeded to "Derventione Delgovitia et Prætoria." The sites of these places are lost. Much learned ingenuity has been expended in discussions thereon, but all we can say with Horsley is that "the first station, Derventio, must have been somewhere on the Derwent." Prætorium has been placed at Whitby, Dunsley, Bridlington, Patrington, and Brough Ferry on the Humber, and by Horsley at Ebberstow in Lincolnshire. A road has been traced to Stamford Bridge, climbing the wolds at Garrowby Street, and through Fimber and Sledmere in the direction of Filey, and another road in the direction of Bridlington (a candidate for the "Gabrantvicorum Sinus," the "well-havened bay" of Ptolemy), leaving the former road near Fridaythorp, and pointing to Rudstone, where a Roman pavement has been found. If the latter route is the first Iter, then Stamford Bridge is Derventio and Bridlington Prætorium. On the strength of a supposed Roman inscription, Filey has been claimed to be Prætorium, but there seems no solid foundation for the claim, though Roman remains have been found there.[2]

The weight of authority is in favour of Brough on the Humber being Prætorium, and some authorities have also placed the Petuaria of Ptolemy there. Roman remains have been found at Brough opposite to Winteringham, where the great Roman road, Ermine Street, from Lincoln *viâ* Broughton (Ebberstow) descended to cross the Humber on its way to York. During the remarkably dry summer of 1826, when the Humber was very low, the remains of raised causeways or jetties stretching out into the river, from both Winteringham and Brough, similar

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[1] Codrington, 2nd edit., p. 174.

[2] See *Remarks on the Discovery of Roman and British Remains at Filey.* By W. S. Cortis, 1858.

to the one in the Trent at Littleborough and apparently of Roman construction, were discovered.[1]

There are traces of two routes from Brough: one *viâ* South Cave and Drewton (where the road has been dug up), Goodmanham, Londesbrough Park, Warter, Millington, to Garrowby Road and thence to Malton; and the other running from the first near Market Weighton, by Thorp le Street, Barmby Moor (where in 1892 a road fifteen feet wide was found a foot below the surface), Kexby Bridge, Scoresby, and Heslington, to York. Roman remains have been found at each of the places named.

THE SECOND ITER.—The second Iter both begins and ends with a boundary, and is best known by its mediæval name of Watling Street. Whether Watling Street in its origin is a British or a Roman road is not easy to determine; the better opinion seems to be that it is a continuation of the old Roman road, which the Anglo-Saxons adopted and kept in repair. Watling Street crosses and re-crosses the kingdom, and represents the old zigzag route from Kent to Chester, Manchester, York, and Newcastle, with a branch from Catterick to Carlisle. The term "Watling Street" is misapplied to other roads than the above, *e.g.* to the Roman road from Ilkley to York.

This Iter entered Yorkshire at Rey Cross where there is a large camp, probably British in its origin and adopted by the Romans, which General Roy thinks was at one time occupied by the sixth legion. Part of the rampart has subsided into the peat, and part has been injured by excavations, but it still remains in size the third largest Roman camp in the Yorkshire district.

The first station in Yorkshire was Lavatræ (Bowes). The remains of the camp can be readily found, as the castle and the church of Bowes stand on the north part

[1] Archdeacon Trollope's paper on "The Ermine Street or Old Roman Road." 1868.

near its western boundary. The area of the camp is about 130 by 140 yards, and its ditches may be traced to the north and west and partly to the east. The Roman occupation is testified by the remains of a bath at the south-east angle, and by numerous inscriptions and altars found here. Camden records one to the honour of the Emperor Hadrian, and another by the proprætor or governor of Britain, Virius Lupus, commemorating the repair of a bath for the first Thracian cohort in the time of the Emperor Severus. The bath had been destroyed by fire.

The next camp on the road was at Greta Bridge, where, on a tongue of land between the Greta and the Tutta Beck, is a small square camp triple trenched, enclosing about five acres. The George Inn at Greta Bridge stands on one side of it. Greta is not mentioned in the *Itinerary*, from which circumstance it is inferred to be of late Roman work. Numerous inscriptions have been found in the vicinity of Greta; one, an altar (found on the banks of the river in 1702), appears to have been a votive offering of two females dedicated to a nymph "Elaune." From Greta Bridge the road went over Gatherly Moor and fell into the first Iter at Scotch Corner. It coincides, with a few slight deviations, with the modern road.

From Scotch Corner to York the route of the first and second Itinera is the same. The second Iter passed out of York, and, crossing the river Ouse by a bridge near the present Guildhall, proceeded by way of Micklegate Bar to Tadcaster. The road for some distance passed through the suburbs of York, and forms the present highway from Dringhouses to Streethouses. The line of road can be distinctly traced to Tadcaster, which is no doubt the ancient "Calcaria," though some authorities persist in placing it as St. Helen's Ford near Newton Kyme. At Tadcaster the road crossed the Wharfe, and ran in the direction of Hazlewood, where near Bramham it is still

conspicuous in the fields, and known as "the Roman Ridge." The road continued to Aberford, and thence to a station called "Cambodunum."

No portion of the Iter has given rise to more discussion than the position of Cambodunum. The difficulties are twofold: first, where was Cambodunum? second, which way did the Iter take between Calcaria and Cambodunum? With regard to the first difficulty, the shortest distance between Tadcaster and Manchester is fifty-eight computed English miles, whereas the numbers given in the *Itinerary* are only thirty-eight Roman miles. The most reasonable conclusion is that some intermediate station, probably Legolium (Castleford), has been omitted by the transcriber from the *Itinerary*.

Cambodunum has been fixed at a variety of places, but the result of the various excavations made from time to time is to fix the station at Slack. The position of Slack is high and bleak, but sheltered to some extent by a high ridge north and south. A sloping piece of ground of about twelve acres is divided into enclosures, formerly called the "eald" or "old fields," and here an altar to Fortune was found. Several hypocausts have been discovered at Slack, and in 1866 the site was explored by the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society, who published an account of the examination in the first volume of their Journal. On the strength of certain inscriptions on tiles found here, "Coh. IIII. Bre," it has been assumed that a cohort of the Breuci was stationed at Slack.[1] Tile-stamps of both the Sixth and Ninth Legions have been found at Slack.

In 1597, not far from Slack, at a place called Thick Hollins, an altar (afterwards deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) was found. Antiquaries have differed as to the exact reading of the inscription, but the following translation is the one adopted by Horsley:

[1] The Breuci are also mentioned on inscriptions found at High Rochester, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 290, and at Castlesteads.

"Dedicated to the God of the States of the Brigantes, and to the deities of the Emperor by Titus Amelius Aurelianus on behalf of himself and his. This duty with gratitude and pleasure he discharges." The inscription on the side indicates that it was set up A.D. 208, when Caracalla was third time Consul, and Geta the second.[1]

Another scarcely less vexed question is what was the line of road taken from Calcaria to Cambodunum. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say. Several writers have maintained it went by Leeds and Cleckheaton, but the most probable opinion seems to be the plain statement of Drake[2] that the road from Cambodunum left the fifth and eighth Itinera near Aberford, and he says "this way may yet be traced, but it is not very visible." From Slack to Mancunium the direction of the road was traced in Whitaker's time over Holestone Moor and Slaithwaite Hill to Castleshaw, and on to Manchester, but the traces are now few and indistinct.

A double camp or fort has been known to exist at Castleshaw since 1751, when Mr. Percival saw and described it.[3] It is now the property of Mr. W. Andrew and Major Lees and is being excavated by them (1908-9). The fort lies on a bleak and exposed situation near Diggle railway station, overlooking the Oldham reservoirs, and commanded the Roman road from Manchester to Aldborough over Stanedge.

The camp is rectangular, about 120 yards by 110, and encloses two forts one within the other. The outer fort covers about three acres and the inner one about five-eighths of an acre. Which of the two forts is the earlier has not yet been ascertained. Probably the smaller fort was

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[1] See the note on "Some Roman Inscriptions in Britain," by Dr. Haverfield, *Arch. Jour.*, vol. xlix. p. 192, as to the words: "Dea Victoria Brigant" inscribed on this altar. Dr. Haverfield notes an altar, dated probably *circa* A.D. 203, found at Castlesteads, dedicated to the "Deæ Nymphæ Brig."

[2] *Eboracum*, p. 19.

[3] *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlvii. p. 216.

erected by Agricola to protect the road from Manchester to Aldborough. Both forts were protected by a turf rampart and by fosses. The turf rampart of the inner fort has a stone foundation 12 feet wide. The turf wall has been removed in the course of excavation, but a photograph of a section of the north-west rampart of the inner fort shows the layers of piled sods before removal. The south-west rampart of the wall of the larger camp was also of piled sods, while the north-west rampart is of clay. In both cases the fosse was in places cut through the solid rock. Five entrances to the forts have been excavated. "In all cases there are indications of post-holes, in some cases set round with stones and containing fragments of wood and iron staples."[1] A hypocaust in good preservation was found in the inner camp, but has been much injured by careless visitors. The only tile-stamp so far discovered is the one, "Coh. iiii Bre," also found at Slack and Manchester.

THE FIFTH ITER.—The third and fourth Itinera do not touch Yorkshire, but the fifth Iter traversed the county from south to north. It is entitled from "Londinium (London) to Luguvallium (Carlisle)." The route ran through Carlisle to Lincoln. The Yorkshire stations were Littleborough, Doncaster, Castleford, York, Aldborough, Catterick, and Bowes. This Iter is the mediæval "Ermine Street," which originally ran from London to Lincoln. From Lincoln two routes ran to the north, one, the military road to Winteringham, and the other, locally known as "Tillbridge Lane," diverged from the original Ermine Street about five miles from Lincoln, and crossed the Trent at Littleborough (Segelocum) between Lindum (Lincoln) and Danum (Doncaster). The latter road from Doncaster to York seems to have been constructed at a later date than the road to Winteringham, and was probably laid out after

[1] *Excavations of the Roman Forts at Castleshaw*, First Interim Report, by F. A. Bruton, 1908, p. 20.

Trench across N.W. Rampart of Inner Fort, Castleshaw.
(*Showing layers of piled sods.* See p. 24.)

York became the seat of government to avoid the dangerous ferry across the Humber from Winteringham. The Roman *Milliary*, now in the cloisters at Lincoln and dedicated to Victorinus (*circa* A.D. 265), is supposed to give the distance fourteen miles (M.P.) to Segelocum the first station. Remains of the Roman road may be traced near Littleborough. It crossed the Trent by a ford, and its descent to the river was entire on each side in the last century. The bank was purposely cut away and sloped, and a causeway 18 feet wide, held up by strong piles and paved with rough square stones, was raised in the bed of the river. It probably dated from the time of Hadrian, and remained entire until 1820, when it was destroyed under the pretence that when the river was low it impeded the navigation.[1] Some traces of the wall and fosse surrounding the station still remain, and the camp has been very prolific of coins.

The line of way from Littleborough to Doncaster seems to have been a raised causeway of gravel and is now lost. Horsley could not trace anything certain, and few remains have been found at Doncaster, although in late Roman times it was the headquarters of the prefect of the "Equitatus Crispianorum." Between Doncaster and Wentbridge the Roman road or "rig," as it is locally called, is still conspicuous. In Ogelby's *Book of Roads*, 1698 (Plate No. 7), it appears under the name of "Ye street way," as the post road between Doncaster and Pontefract. The present highway north of Doncaster for a mile and a half is on the line of the Roman road, from which it diverges at Bodles, near Doncaster, while the Roman road continues in a straight line, for a distance of about three miles, as a green lane from 15 to 18 feet wide, and raised considerably above the level of the adjoining fields, which obtain access to it by means of steep ramps of earth. North of Woodlands the ridge is very perfect, being from 6 to 8 feet

[1] "Roman Nottinghamshire," by W. T. Walker: *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii. p. 3.

high, and continues much the same for some distance until it again falls into the modern road near Red House, forming part of the highway to Barnsdale Bar, where it diverges, and a fine section of it, raised a considerable height, is to be seen crossing the fields and passing through a plantation on the left of the road. The road (as noticed by Horsley in 1732) is not paved, but appears "to consist of earth and gravel without much stone or any certain appearance of a regular pavement."[1]

Near Barnsdale Bar the turnpike road again diverges from the Roman road, which can be seen running alongside the highway for some distance, until it again falls into the modern road, and so continues to Wentbridge.[2] The road between Wentbridge and Castleford has long since disappeared, the pavement where it crossed Pontefract Park being dug up many years ago by the farmers, who complained that it broke their ploughs when ploughing.

The road crossed the Aire at Castleford by a ford near the east side of the church, which stands on the site of the camp. The paved road was visible when Stukeley visited the district, but all traces of the camp and paved road have now disappeared, though coins are dug up from time to time. In 1890 an altar of gritty sandstone (now in the Leeds Museum) was dug up from the river Calder, near

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[1] The road is intersected near Woodlands by the modern road from Adwick to Brodsworth, and at no other place in Yorkshire can the contrast between ancient and modern works be so well observed. Close to the place where the roads intersect each other is the newly (1907) sunk pit (580 yards deep) of the Brodsworth Colliery, from which 2000 tons of coal are being daily raised (to be increased ultimately to 6000 tons). On the other side of the Roman road, and abutting upon it, is the Woodlands "Garden village," created by the Colliery Company, and covering many acres of ground. The Roman road is being gradually cut away by railway sidings and new roads, and the portion between the colliery and Doncaster is returning to its old use of the most direct, though not the most level, road to Doncaster.

[2] "We left Doncaster and crossed three stone bridges which are over the river Don. . . . There are causeways on both sides of the road. . . . At the end of this causeway (on the left) appears plainly the Roman way, which continues in the present road for many miles together. It is raised considerably from the common level of the grounds, and in some parts of it the coach drives along the very ridge."—Lord Harley's *Journeys in England*, 1723: H.M.C. Duke of Portland's Papers, vol. vi. p. 90.

Castleford, inscribed: "DEAE VIC : TORIAE : BRIGANT. A.D. AVRS ENoPIANU . ." The altar may probably date as early as 205. After leaving Castleford the road becomes large and conspicuous, and runs in a straight line for eight or nine miles to Aberford. In 1741 Horsley saw it, and says: "From Aberford to Tadcaster the road is very conspicuous, being in some parts 6, 8, and even 9 feet high, but seems to consist mostly of earth, with little or no regular pavement appearing." The road is incorporated for the greater part of the distance with the modern road, and is about 20 yards between the fences. The ridge upon which it runs is now about 8 yards wide, and as much as 5 feet above the adjoining ground, to which raised ramps give access. From Aberford, the ridge runs in a straight line to within a mile of Hazlewood School, where it leaves the present road, and runs across the fields to Tadcaster road, which it follows for some little distance, and then turns to the north in the direction of St. Helen's Ford. The road is visible in the enclosures near Hazlewood, and is about 4 feet high with a rounded top about 5 yards wide (in one place used as a garden to some cottages), and appears to consist of pebbles and gravel, marl, clay, and loose cobble stones which may be remains of paving. Drake [1] says in his time, the road was in many places exceedingly perfect, and "in his travels he never saw so noble and perfect a Roman road as this."

Ermine Street does not appear originally to have gone on to York, but to have crossed the Wharfe at St. Helen's Ford, and thence on by Whixley to Aldborough by the road called "Rudgate," or Roadgate, which begins on the north side of the Nidd. When York rose to importance on the decline of Aldborough, a branch road was constructed from Ermine Street, *viâ* Calcaria (Tadcaster), which is traceable to York.[2]

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[1] *Eboracum*, p. 19, where there is a view of the "Rig."

[2] A short distance below Tadcaster the little river Cock enters the Wharfe, and a few yards from the confluence the small stream is crossed by a

In connection with the fifth Iter, another Roman road leads from Tadcaster to Ilkley, and thence to Elslack and Ribchester.[1] It can still be traced in places between Bramhope and Adel (the supposed Burgodunum), where are remains of a camp, and where many Roman remains have been found, some of which are preserved at the little museum near Adel church. From Adel the road can be traced to Carlton and Ilkley. The road ran from Ilkley to Skipton and Ribchester. A few traces of it are to be seen between Ilkley and Addingham High Moor, where the ridge becomes very distinct, and so continues over Draughton Slade and through Howgill and Edge Plantations. The road descends into Skipton by Short Bank Road, and thence to Elslack. The road is marked on Jeffrey's map, 1770, as part of the coach road from Kendal to London, and was so used until 1821, when it was closed by order of Quarter Sessions as unnecessary. It is still used as a footpath.

On the line of this road, recent (1907–9) excavations[2] at "Burwens" in Elslack have disclosed the outlines of a camp of about 5½ acres in extent. It is intersected by the Midland Railway from Skipton to Colne. The excavations prove the existence of two forts, an earlier one, dating probably from first century, with a rampart of clay resting upon a foundation 16 feet wide of cobbles set in clay, and a later fort with a stone wall about 9 feet thick, the foundations of which are in places built into the ditch of the earlier fort. The south gateway of the earlier fort is close to the south gateway of the later fort.

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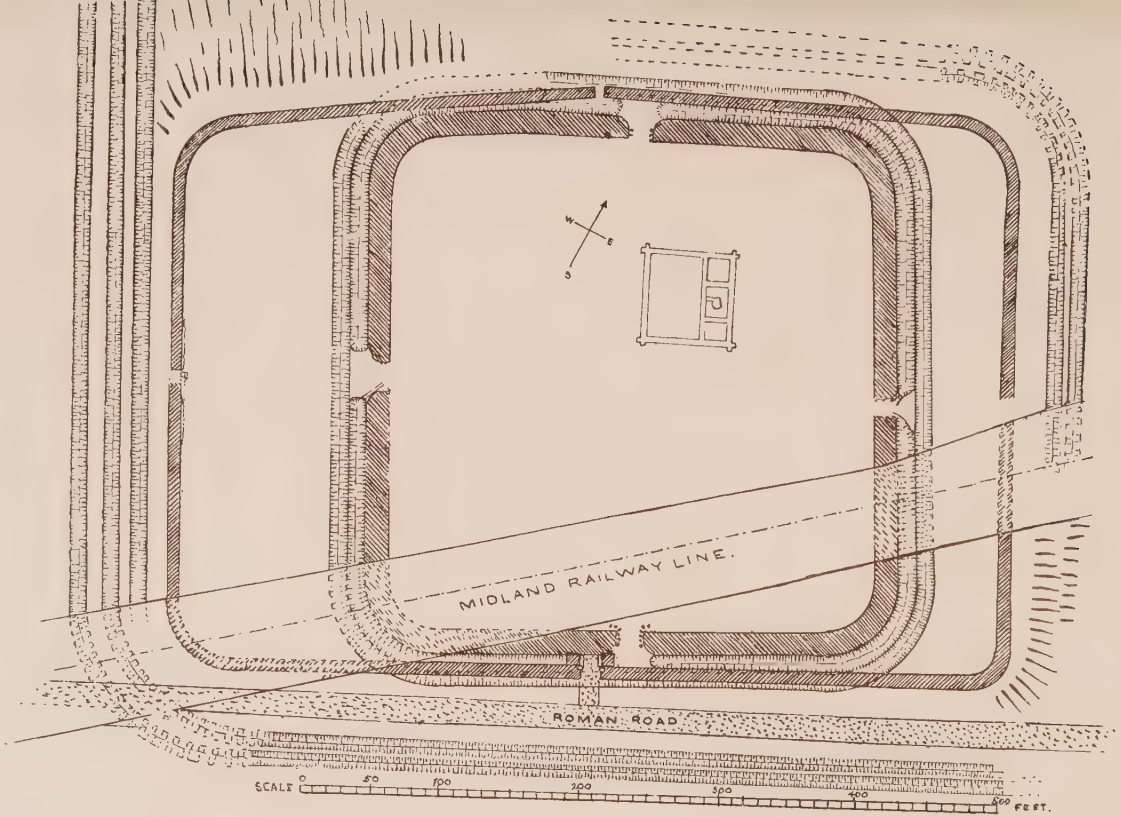
semicircular arch, constructed without a keystone, and springing from square pier walls. The blocks of stone, neatly squared, are about twice as large as those in the wall at York, and on several are mason's marks. The parapets are modern. The arch is about 13 feet wide and 7 feet high, and the middle of the bridge is about 8 feet. The track leading to it from the south is called "the Old Street." Professor John Phillips, in *Rivers, &c., of Yorkshire*, p. 83, and Mr. Roach Smith believe it to be Roman work, but other authorities think the bridge to be Norman work.

[1] Warburton's note on his map respecting this road is: "This Roman way goes [from Ribchester] to York and for the most part visible being paved with stone throughout."

[2] Conducted by Messrs. Simpson and May.



Mens. et Del. Thos. May, F.S.A. Scot.

ROMAN FORTS, BURWEN CASTLE, ELSLACK.

The gateway of the later fort was of stone flanked by a tower. "One of the gateways of the earlier rampart was constructed of wood. Huge beams of timber constituted the sides of the gate, and one of the post-holes contained a 'butt end' 3 feet high and 1 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 1 in." The buildings have been wholly destroyed and only foundations of the walls remain. Some fragments of pottery have been found which are assigned to the first century, and support the theory that Elslack was the work of Agricola.

Besides the legionary roads mentioned in the *Itinerary*, Roman Yorkshire was intersected in all directions by other roads, some, such as the roads over Blackstone Edge and "Wade's Causeway," of considerable importance.

BLACKSTONE EDGE ROAD.—If we may hazard a conjecture upon a subject upon which there is very slight if any evidence, we suggest the Blackstone Edge road is an early road to Isurium (Aldborough), constructed before the adoption of York as the seat of Roman power. The road issued out from Manchester near Hunts Bank, now occupied by the Cathedral and Cheetham's College (both of which stand on the site of a Roman station). In Whitaker's time the road was visible; it was 5 yards in width, bordered with large stones running in the direction of Rochdale, but it has been so completely destroyed that some authors have doubted its existence; but its general direction has been proved by remains found at various places adjoining the supposed line of road.

The best preserved and most accessible portion of the road is on the Lancashire side of the hills. It appears to have passed Lidgate about a mile east of Littleborough, and then over Blackstone Edge about two miles east of Littleborough. A little south of the road near the fourth milestone from Rochdale, the paving of the causeway begins, ascending in a straight line (at a gradient of 1 in 7, in some places 1 in $4\frac{1}{2}$) for some 1600 yards to the top of

the ridge where the two counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire meet.

"The paving is in regular courses across the road, and seems to be bedded in rubble upon the rock: it is now several feet below the level of the surface of the moor, the peat which covered it having apparently been removed. It is about 18 feet wide, and is bordered with stones set on edge, and in the middle there is a line of large blocks hollowed out so as to form a longitudinal trough 14 inches wide and 8 or 9 deep, the bottom of which is rather higher in the middle than at the sides. Higher up the hill the trough ceases, and a paved causeway 12 feet wide branches off on the north at an angle of 20 degrees, and continues for a short distance in a westerly direction at a flatter gradient; the trough stones reappear about the branch, and a rut in the paving 2 feet 4 inches from the centre of the trough is soon very plain on the north side, in places 3 or 4 inches deep: higher up a rut appears on the south side, well marked, with traces of the rut on the north side, both at the same distance (2 feet 4 inches) from the middle of the trough. Appearances suggest two wheel tracks of about 2 feet gauge with one wheel in the trough rather than one track of 4 feet 6 inches gauge as has been suggested. Towards the summit the pavement is a good deal broken up and the bare rock appears. There is no middle trough, but the large flat stones forming the pavement are slightly grooved by wear in the line of it."[1]

The road descends on the eastern or Yorkshire side of moor for nearly two miles, and the trough stones again appear. The paved road is buried in most places under peat, but the direction of the causeway can always be traced by two parallel lines of heather or bilberry mounds which cover the paved road and the curbs or edges of stones of the road.

The trough in the middle of the road has given rise to much speculation, and about a dozen theories have been put forward as to its origin, most of which will be found summed up by Dr. March in his paper. The most probable explanation is that the "trough" was used for skidding the wheels of heavy laden carts.

Owing to the difficulty in explaining the use of the "trough," some recent writers have contended the road is of post-Roman construction. The great consensus of

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[1] Codrington, *On Roman Roads in Britain*, 2nd edit., p. 106. See also "The Road over Blackstone Edge," by H. C. March, M.D., in *Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Society*, vol. i. 1883, p. 75.

ROAD OVER BLACKSTONE EDGE.

(*Showing the trough in the middle of the road.*)

opinion, however, is strongly in favour of its Roman origin.

One of the earliest travellers over the road was John Warburton (Somerset Herald), and himself a Lancashire man, who prepared a map of Yorkshire from personal observation; and in his explanation of his map says: "4. The Roman military ways are shown by two unequal black lines, and when discontinued or broken off are not visible." The map is not dated, but was most probably issued before 1720.[1] On it he shows the Blackstone Edge road as still complete, and adds the following note: "The Roman way extends from Manchester in Lancashire unto Aldborough near Boroughbridge, is all paved with stones and near eight yards broad." Sayers' map (1728) and all subsequent maps showing Roman roads appear to be copied from Warburton's. Warburton's notes and papers used for the preparation of his map are among the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum.

The road after crossing the ridge is known as "The Devil's" or "Daub's" Causeway, and winds down Blackstone Clough to Baitings, where Warburton placed a camp. From Baitings, the road has been traced to Upwood above Keighley. It crossed the river Calder at Longbottom by a ford paved with large blocks of stone to the width of 20 feet, which were removed when the bed of the river was altered on the construction of the railway. It then ran over the "Carrs," where its pavement was removed, when Ogden reservoir was made, and through Denholme Gate, where it could lately be seen behind St. Paul's School; and it crossed the river Aire somewhere near Marley Hall, and ascended the hills behind Upwood House, where a large portion of the pavement was taken up about fifty years ago.

The road then crossed Rombalds Moor, and descended into the valley of the Wharfe, down Weary Hill to the

[1] See "Warburton's Journal," in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. xv., p. 275.

camp at Ilkley. When the road ceased to be used for general traffic cannot be ascertained, but up to the middle of the eighteenth century it was fairly passable from Littleborough to Ilkley for foot passengers, though in a ruinous condition; in some places incorporated with the highways and in other parts enclosed.[1]

The road crossed the river Wharfe at Ilkley, and ascended the steep hill near Stubbam Wood, where a little of it is still visible. Whitaker, writing in 1771,[2] states that the road was found on Middleton and Blueburg House (Blubberhouse) Moors, paved like the portion of the road over Blackstone Edge, with stones uncommonly large, and edged like that with still larger ones. The pavement may, as surmised by Horsley, have sunk into the bogs and peat where it traversed the wild moorland region to the north of Ilkley, or may have been broken up for fences. But portions of the road may still be found under the greensward towards Windsoever.[3]

The general direction of the road is across Bracken Ridge and Sug Marsh, and after crossing the Washburne River to Cragg Hall, it joins, and forms part of, the present highway as far as Kettlesing Toll Bar. The road passed on to Hampsthwaite, and there it crossed the river Nidd, near the church through Holy Bank Wood, where in 1894 it was in evidence in the shape of large stones, 5 or 6 feet long, and 1 foot wide.[4] The road through Clint to Aldborough is lost; but, according to Warburton's map, it ran by Staveley and Copgrave to Aldborough, where it crossed the river Ure upon a wood bridge, the piles of which were visible as late as the eighteenth century. In

[1] That the road has been altered from time to time is probable from an entry on the Patent Rolls, 19 Ed. I. 1291 (Sterling): "Grant to Hugh de Elaund and Richard de Radeclive for two years of a custom on goods for sale taken across the Causeway of Blakesteynegge [*i.e.* Blackstone Edge] to be applied to its repairs." Elland and Radcliffe were local names. In 1291 the only roads over Stanedge and Blackstone Edge would be the Roman roads.

[2] *History of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 140.

[3] Turner's *History of Ilkley*, 1885, p. 275.

[4] Speight's *Nidderdale*, 1894, p. 380.

1712 the road, 10 feet wide and paved with stones, was laid open to Roecliff common field, two miles from Aldborough, at about 2 feet below the surface.[1]

WADE'S CAUSEWAY.—Another road, not mentioned in the *Itinerary*, but still visible in various places, is the road commonly called "Wade's Causeway," which ran from York to Dunsley near Whitby. The road from York to the river Rye is now obliterated, but Drake[2] found the stratum near the Rye very plain, and composed of "large blue pebbles, some of a ton weight." At Cawthorn, about four miles beyond Pickering, the road is again to be met with near four remarkable camps, now for the most part overgrown by furze and shrubs lying on the very edge of the moors and placed close together.[3] They are in reality double camps, two being united together. Three of the camps have only a single agger, but the most westerly camp is square, with a double ditch and vallum with the Roman road running through it east and west, and then turning north, descends the hill through Ellerton Lodge, where a portion of the paving remains. From certain peculiarities in the entrances to the camp, also noticed by Roy at the Roman camp at Dealgrin Ross, Strathern, occupied by the Ninth Legion, it has been conjectured that the Cawthorn camps are the work of that legion. The same peculiarity existed in the defences of the Roman camp at Malton.[4]

From Cawthorn, the road points to Dunsley Bay near Whitby (the Dunus Sinus of Ptolemy). Though mostly buried in the ling, it can be traced in riding over the moors by the horse's hoofs striking upon it, as noticed by Drake[5] in 1746, who says he found "the road to be

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[1] Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii. p. 300.
[2] *Eboracum*, p. 36.
[3] They are figured in Roy's *Military Antiquities*, and Young's *Whitby*, vol. ii. p. 694. They have recently been explored by the Yorkshire Committee of Roman Antiquities, but without any result.
[4] Murray's *Yorkshire*, p. 175, ed. 1874.
[5] *Eboracum*, p. 35.

12 feet wide paved with a flint pebble, some of them very large and in many places as firm as it was the first day. In some places the agger is 3 feet above the surface." Since Drake's time a good deal of the road has been broken up to repair roads and buildings, and it is by no means easy to trace. Drake appears to have traced the road towards Dunsley Bay, and traces of it near Mulgrave Castle were shown to the present writer some thirty years ago.

In 1817 the road was visible at various points, and on Lease Rigg it was described by Young[1] as follows:—

> "The foundation is usually a stratum of gravel on rubbish, over which is a strong pavement of stones, placed with the flattest side uppermost; above these another stratum of gravel or earth to fill up and smooth the surface, the middle higher than the sides, which are secured with a border of flat stones placed edgeways, the elevation was in some places 2 or 3 feet, there was sometimes a gutter in each side, and the breadth, exclusive of the gutters, was 16 feet."

Wade's Causeway exhibits in operation the gradual destruction of a paved Roman road. On the moors far away from "intakes" or enclosures, the paving is to be found beneath a few inches of soil, very much as it was when the Roman traffic on it ceased. On the unenclosed moor enough is left to be mapped as traces of a Roman road, but within the intake cultivation soon obliterates all traces.

There is also another line of road, which quitted the fifth and eighth Itinera near Pontefract, and proceeded by Darfield and Templeborough and by the long causeway through Sheffield and the north part of Derbyshire. The only existing remains of this road in Yorkshire is the camp at Templeborough, about a mile from Rotherham, where, if Horsley's conjecture as to the reading of the *Notitia* is correct, a body of "cuirassiers" was stationed.

A full description of the camp has been published by

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[1] *History of Whitby*, vol. ii. p. 706.

Mr. Leader, but the ruins, not being protected from the weather, are becoming indistinguishable. Some objects of interest have been collected together and are now deposited in the Museum at Clifton Park, Rotherham; several tiles stamped COH IIII GALL, and a fine mould for a medallion of Diana which was found in excavating for a new workhouse at Rotherham.

THE ROMAN MILITARY FORCE.—No account of Roman Yorkshire would be complete without some reference to the Roman military forces.

The Roman forces, at the time of their occupation of Britain, consisted of two classes of soldiers, legionary troops and their auxiliaries. The legions for the most part represented the old citizen army of the Republic. The auxiliaries were levied from subject nations, and not from the citizens of Rome. The strength of a legion varied greatly at different times, but during the Roman occupation of Britain it comprised about 4000 to 6000 heavy armed infantry, divided into ten cohorts, and with a small body of about 300 Roman cavalry. The auxiliaries, or allied infantry, were generally as numerous as the Roman infantry, sometimes in excess of it. The unit was a small body of 500 (sometimes 1000) infantry, also called "a cohort," and an "ala" of cavalry, generally twice the strength of the legionary horse. A fully equipped legion would therefore average from 10,000 to 12,000 men.

The Roman legions were designated by numbers, as Legio II. or Secunda, and also by some name denoting when, where, and by what emperor they had been raised, or commemorative of some distinctive circumstance. Some of the legions also bore symbols: for instance, the Second Legion had for a symbol a she-goat, and the Eighth a bull and a lion. The Sixth does not appear to have had any symbol. On coins struck by some of the emperors, viz., Severus, Gallienus, Carausius, the legend of the reverse

consists of the number and sometimes the title of a legion, as LEG. VI.

The Second, Sixth, and Ninth Legions were connected with Eboracum. Of these the second, "Legio II. Augusta," also called "Britannica," came over with Claudius, and an altar found at York, dedicated to Fortune by the wife of a soldier of this legion, affords some evidence of its having been at York, though its headquarters were at some later date at Caerleon in South Wales.

The Ninth Legion ("Hispanica") also came into Britain with Claudius, and suffered so severely in the campaigns against Boadicea, and at Dealgrin Ross in Scotland, that some writers have thought it was disbanded or incorporated with the Sixth Legion. There are memorials of it at York, Aldborough, Slack, and probably at Cawthorn camps.

The Sixth Legion ("Victrix. Pia. Fidelis") came over to England with Hadrian. Mr. Wellbeloved says no mention of this legion is ever found on inscriptions belonging to the south of England,[1] but it occurs frequently in those of the north. It appears to have been employed on the Roman Wall, and to have come to York through Lancashire, as several inscriptions belonging to this legion have been found in Lancashire. One of the most interesting of Roman relics was found near the road from Manchester to Ilkley, on the confines of Yorkshire. It is the representation of a human right arm and hand, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and weighing 6 ounces, and formed of pure silver, the hand being solid and the arm hollow. An annulet of silver surrounded the arm above the elbow, and another the wrist, from which hung a silver plate, bearing an inscription drilled in small holes through it, and reads: "Victoriæ · Leg . VI · Vic · Val · Rvfvs · V.S.L.M." . . . "To Victory of the

[1] The Roman inscriptions to the Sixth Legion found at Bath are memorials to soldiers who apparently had visited Bath for health, and numerous inscriptions relating to the legion are preserved in the York and Halifax Museums.

Sixth Legion the Victorious Valerius Rufus performs his vow willingly, to a deserving object."[1]

The legionaries and auxiliaries were sometimes stationed together, but not always quartered together. The legionaries occupied the great fortresses, and the auxiliaries occupied the smaller forts. The station at York, which contained within its walls 60 or 70 acres, was garrisoned by the Ninth, and afterwards by the Sixth Legion. The subsidiary camps or stations, which comprised only 4 to 8 acres, were held by the auxiliaries, *e.g.* one body being stationed at Templeborough, another at Ilkley (Olicana), and another at Bowes. No two contiguous subsidiary camps were occupied by the same nationality of auxiliaries. Neither legionaries nor auxiliaries were moved about, but remained in the same station often for successive centuries. For instance, the Sixth Legion remained at York from its first landing in Britain, A.D. 117, to the final abandonment of Britain, about A.D. 405.

One of the most valuable privileges of a Roman was that of citizenship; without it no man had any political status, his property was insecure, and any marriage which he might contract was unrecognised by the State. He was liable to personal indignity, and might be treated as little better than a slave. Not only was it a proud and valuable prerogative, but it is evident that means were taken to enable any one possessing it easily to establish his claim. In early times the grants of citizenship were duly registered at Rome, and copies of the grant, inscribed on bronze or copper plates, appear to have been sent to the place where the new citizens resided. Four bronze tablets of two leaves each (hence called diplomas) have been found in England. They confer citizenship and the right of marriage[2] upon certain soldiers serving in Britain, who have been twenty-five years in the army; one belonging to the reign of

[1] Figured in Watkins' *Roman Lancashire*, p. 213.

[2] The Roman soldier was not allowed to marry. The Emperor Claudius was the first who granted them the privileges of married men.

Hadrian, *circa* A.D. 124 (now in the British Museum), was found in 1761 at Riveling, not far from the camp at Templeborough. The diplomas state that "he [the Emperor] gives the citizenship to those whose names are written below, to them, their children and their posterity, together with the right of marriage with those wives which they then have, or if they be bachelors, with those whom they may hereafter marry, provided that they have but one each." The document concluded with the names of the consuls, the name of the person to whom the citizenship is granted, the place in Rome where the original degree granting the citizenship is to be found, and the names of the witnesses. The diplomas have had their two leaves bound together by thongs, so as to be carried upon the person. The Riveling tablets are much corroded, but on them is inscribed a list of twenty-seven bodies of troops (six alæ and twenty-one cohorts) among them being the second cohort of "Lingones," who have left a memorial of their presence at Ilkley.[2] In one of the diplomas the names of several troops who were in England when the *Notitia* was compiled, *circa* A.D. 403, are set out. We have, therefore, certain proof that some troops were in Britain at least three hundred years. Each garrison would probably be recruited by the sons of soldiers, by friendly natives, and by importations from the land from which it originally came.

There are few specimens of Roman-British statuary existing in England, but the York Museum possesses a very noble one. It is carved in light-coloured grit, probably by a local artist. The figure is 5 feet 10 inches high, but when found was unfortunately defective in the feet and right arm, which have been since added to the figure. It represents a martial personage in helmet, breastplate, and greaves, with the left hand resting upon a large oval shield. The hair is arranged in fillets, and the face is beautifully cut. Various theories have been discussed as to the

[1] Figured in Gough's *Camden* (1806), vol. iii. p. 263; and more accurately n the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.

Statue of Mars, York Museum.

personage intended to be represented. Some suppose Ares or Mars, others Geta, who is known to have been in York *circa* A.D. 211, and Mr. W. T. Watkins suggests Britannia, a suggestion which has not found favour with experts. Closely connected with the armour of a Roman soldier, the York Museum possesses a very fine boss of a shield, dug up from the mouth of the river Tyne. The boss is 12 inches long by 10 inches broad, with a circular knob in the centre. The material is bronze, coated with tin, and the figures have been made by scraping off the tin. In the centre of the boss is the representation of the Roman Eagle. "In the four corners are representations of the four seasons. Spring, in the upper left-hand corner, is figured as a youth striving to gather his garments around him. Summer is represented, in the opposite angle, by a husbandman who grasps a scythe. Below is Autumn, figured as a winged genius, holding a huge bunch of grapes in the left hand and a basket of corn or fruit in the left. Winter, in the remaining corner, is clad in furs fluttering in the winds." In the upper corners of the boss, under the figures of the spring and summer are engraved the words LEG VIII. AVG ("The Eighth Legion, surnamed the Imperial"). In the upper central compartment of the boss is a warrior in the attitude of attack, probably intended to represent Mars. In the corresponding compartment below is a bull, probably the badge of the Eighth Legion. Above the bull is a crescent. On the left-hand margin of the plate is an inscription in punctured letters, which Dr. Bruce translated as "Junius Dubitatus of the Company of Julius Magnus the centurion." The Eighth Legion was not in Britain, but somewhere near Mayence, but it is suggested that Dubitatus was wrecked on a sea voyage, and probably lost his life in the Tyne. The boss of the shield is one of the choicest specimens of Roman work in the country.

WORSHIP.—The religion of the Roman was an affair of State, and we therefore expect to meet with some

vestiges of their religious rites wherever their arms penetrated.

Almost every town or station had its temple. Remains of temples have been found at Bath, Cirencester, and other places, and there seems to be little doubt that a temple to Bellona existed at York. Spartian, in his life of the Emperor Septimus Severus, says:[1] "Coming to the city and desiring to offer sacrifice, the Emperor was conducted first by a rustic soothsayer to the temple of Bellona." Drake[2] thought that the temple was near where the Abbey of St. Mary's or the Manor House now stands, and where a small brass figure, apparently of the goddess, was found.

Innumerable altars have been found in Britain, but the greater part in a mutilated condition.

Mr. Wright[3] says: "In the wild country along the line of Hadrian's Wall, where they have escaped destruction in greater numbers than elsewhere, it was a practice among the peasantry to chip away the sculptures and inscriptions whenever they found them, because they associated them in their minds with notions of magic and witchcraft." The altars to the different deities, especially to the lesser objects of worship, seem to have been placed within the temples of the superior gods. They were perhaps placed in the open air, in the forum, or the roadside, or in the cemeteries, like the mediæval crosses.

Inscriptions have been found to the chief Roman deities, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Minerva, Ceres; the lesser deities, such as Silvanus, Æsculapius, and others; the Grecian and Eastern deities, the Tyrian Hercules, Mithras, Serapis; the Nymphs and Genii, Fortune and deified personifications; the deities of the auxiliary races, the Deæ Matres, Vitires, &c.

An enumeration of all the inscribed stones found in

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[1] *Vit. Server.*, c. xxii.

[2] *Eboracum*, p. 12.

[3] *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 5th edit., p. 314, where a full and interesting description of a Roman altar is to be found.

Roman Yorkshire would expand this article beyond the scope of the "Memorials," but the following examples, taken from the York Museum, may be of interest to the general reader.[1] Numerous inscriptions to Jupiter, the chief deity of Rome, have been found in Britain. One (now in the Oxford Museum) found on Bishop Hill, York, in 1638, bore an inscription: "To Jupiter, best and greatest, and to the gods and goddesses who preside over the household, and to the penates, for the preservation of the health of himself and his family, Pablius Ælius Marcianus, prefect of a Cohort, dedicated and consecrated this altar." Mercury is often figured, and examples of sculptured figures representing him have been found at Aldborough and York.

One of the chief occupations of Roman country life was the chase; Roman and British pottery is frequently ornamented with hunting scenes, in which the stag, the hare, and the dog are represented. The chase of the boar appears to have been a favourite pursuit in Britain. An altar has been found at Durham dedicated to "Silvanus," the god of forests and hunting, by the prefect of an ala of soldiers, who had slain a boar, which had set all the hunters before him at defiance. And altars to the same god have been found at York and Moresby.

Altars were dedicated to other gods for health and welfare. In the interior north wall of the church tower of Ilkley is a figure locally known as "Hercules and the Serpent," and which, it has been suggested, represents the goddess of healing.

One of the laws of the twelve tables was that "Foreign deities should not be worshipped"; but in the later periods

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[1] *Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 8th edit., 1891. Edited by Canon Raine. The Society possesses a large collection of objects, mostly found in York and the county, illustrative of Roman manners and life. There is no gathering from any Roman site in Britain that can be compared with it (Raine, *Historic Towns* (York), p. 10). The bulk of the collection is housed in the ancient building called "The Hospitium."

of the Roman State, foreign worship was tolerated if not authoritatively established.

Amongst Eastern superstitions the worship of the Phœnician Astarte, the Egyptian Serapis, and the Persian Mithras planted themselves deeply in Britain.

That there was a temple at Eboracum dedicated to Serapis is clear from the following inscription on a tablet of coarse grit found in a cellar on the south side of the river at York: "DEO SANCTO | SERAPI | TEMPLVM A SO | LO FECIT | CL HIERONY | MIANVS LEG | LEG VI VIC."[1] The temple of Serapis is supposed to have stood near the old North-Eastern Railway, and a portion of the pavement from that site is preserved in the museum. From this inscription it appears that the temple was erected from its foundation by Claudius Hieronymianus, legate of the Sixth Legion, "Victorious." The name Hieronymianus also occurs upon an inscription found at Northallerton.

Perhaps the most interesting sculpture yet discovered in York is a tablet 3 feet 3 inches high by 22 inches wide, representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras. Mithras was the Persian god of created light and of all earthly wisdom. In the course of time he became identified with the Sun god, who conquers all demons of darkness. In the first half of the first century B.C. his worship is said to have been introduced into the Roman provinces of the West, and by the beginning of the second century B.C. it had become common throughout the Roman Empire. Mithras was a special favourite of the Roman soldiers. Being born from the rocks, he was worshipped in natural or artificial caves. He is represented as a young man in oriental dress, and as an invincible hero, stabbing a bull with his dagger, or standing on a bull he has thrown down. In the York tablet, above the principal figure, are three busts, one on the left wearing a radiant crown, two on the right much mutilated. On each side of the principal

[1] Figured in Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 75, who gives a sketch of the worship of Serapis.

Tablet to Mithras, York Museum.

group is an attendant bearing a torch, one inverted with flames downwards; the torch of the other (not seen in the York tablet in consequence of its mutilated condition, but shown on tablets in other collections) with the flame upwards. The former denotes the descent of the souls of men from the lunar region to the earth; the other their ascent, when regenerated and purified, to their celestial and eternal home.

There was another class of Roman deities commemorated in numerous altars found in Britain. The nymphs presided over groves and meadows, and especially over fountains. Even the roads had their deities, and an altar was found at Greta Bridge dedicated "To the god who ways and paths has devised,—Titus Irclas performed a holy vow most willingly and dutifully, Quintus Varius Vitalis, beneficiary of the Consul the holy altar restored, Apronianus and Bradua being Consuls."[1]

The genii were a different description of divinities, having each a peculiar place or object entrusted to his care. When a man opened a shop he began by expressing a wish that the genius of the place would take charge of it. Three such inscribed votive tablets[2] are in the York Museum. Fortune seems also to have been a popular deity, as numerous altars inscribed to the goddess show. One found by Whitaker[3] at Slack in 1736 was inscribed: "Caius Antonius Modestus, centurion of the Sixth, victorious, pious, and faithful Legion, consecrated this altar to Fortune, and with pleasure discharges the vow he owed."

But one of the most interesting inscriptions is found at Bowes (Lavatræ), raised by the same Proprætor or Governor of Britain, Virius Lupus,[4] whose name also occurs on an inscription at Ilkley: "To the goddess

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[1] Apronianus and Bradua were Consuls in the year 191.
[2] Figured by Wellbeloved, p. 87.
[3] *History of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 89.
[4] Virius Lupus appears, or may have been, Proprætor *circa* 197 to 211.

Fortune | Virius Lupus | Legate | of Augustus, Proprætor | the bath, by force | of fire burnt | of the first cohort of the | Thracians, restored | under the care | of Valerius Fronte | Præfect | of the wing of the horse of Vettoneo."

The same Virius Lupus also rebuilt some station or building at Ilkley, as appears from one of the now illegible inscriptions preserved at Middleton Lodge, and which ran: "The Emperors Severus Augustus and Antoninum | Cæsar elect | restored under the care of Virius Lupus, their Legate Proprætor."

The auxiliary troops had also their divinities. Among them are those known by the title of *deæ matres*. It is said not more than one altar to these deities has been found in Italy, or mentioned by the classic writers; but altars and inscriptions to them are very numerous along the banks of the Rhine. When the *deæ matres* are figured on altars or monuments they are always represented as three seated females, with baskets or bowls of fruit on their knees. Five monuments commemorative of them are in the York Museum. On one of them the *deæ* are represented on the front of the altar sitting in a recess. On the right side of the altar is a single male figure, and on the left two male figures, and on the fourth side is an animal, probably a swine, standing before an altar. The fine altar, dedicated to the *deæ matres* by M. Nantonum Orbitales, was found at Doncaster six feet underground.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.—In the disposal of the dead two methods have most generally prevailed. 1. Burial of the entire body. 2. Burial of the ashes after the body has been burned. The earlier practice of the Roman was to bury the body entire, but in the time of Sylla the custom of burning the dead was established. Both modes of burial were used indiscriminately in Roman Britain, but the practice of burning the dead and burying the ashes in urns seems to have predominated. The earlier law of the

Romans prohibited the burial or burning of the dead within the city. Mr. Wellbeloved[1] says no vestige of a Roman burial within the walls of Eboracum has been discovered, but in the suburbs, and especially on the south side of the river, relics of the Roman dead abound.

When a corpse was to be burned, it was carried in solemn procession to the funeral pile raised at a place set apart for the purpose, called the *ustrinum*.[2] When the body had been consumed, the ashes of the dead were placed in an urn in which they were committed to the grave. The cinerary urns found in Britain are generally plain and large, of a dark-coloured pottery. Examples are to be found in most museums of Roman antiquities, and the York Museum possesses a large and fine series.

Sometimes the ashes were deposited in glass jars, and sometimes in coffers of lead called *ossuaria*.[3] A very fine *ossuarium*, 15 inches high by 10 inches, with a round cupola, was found in York in 1875. When discovered it was half full of coloured human bones. A unique inscription is cut on it by a sharp-pointed tool:—

D M	
V(LP)AIE FELICISSIMAE	Julia Felicissima
QVAE VIXIT ANNOS	who lived . . . III years[4]
. . . III MENSES XI DIES.	eleven months and . . .
FECERVNT VLPIVS FELIX ET	days. Her parents Ulpius
. . . ANDRONICA	Felix and . . . Andronica
PARENTES	have placed
	this

When a regular Roman cemetery is opened, the cinerary urn is often found to be surrounded by a group of vessels

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[1] *Eburacum*, p. 98.

[2] Mr. Wright thought he had discovered the site of an *ustrinum* outside the walls of Isurium (Aldborough).

[3] See a paper on "Roman Leaden Coffins and Ossuaria," *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vii. p. 170, illustrated by several examples from York Museum.

[4] It may have been 13 or 23 years.

of various descriptions, which perhaps held wine, aromatics, and other articles. Among these are often elegant cups and pateræ of red Samian ware. The cinerary urns were in many cases enclosed in a chest of wood, but they were usually covered above with a large flat tile or stone. The chest or grave was itself often formed of tiles or stones instead of wood. At York graves have been found made of tiles in a peculiar arrangement. One now in the museum, found in 1833 on the side of the Roman road near York leading to Tadcaster (Calcaria), was formed of ten roof tiles, each 1 foot 7 inches long, 1 foot 3½ inches broad, and 1¼ inch in thickness. Four of these tiles were placed on each side, and one at each end, with a row of ridge tiles on the top. Each tile bore the impress LEG VI VI. Remains of a funeral pile 6 inches thick were found under these tiles, but no urn or vessel of any kind.

In another similar tomb the tiles were stamped with the inscription LEG IX HISP; within the tomb were found several urns, containing ashes standing on a flat tiled pavement. Sepulchral tombs made of stone are rarer than those formed of tiles. In some places, especially at York, massive chests or sarcophagi of stone have been found, which from their forms and inscriptions appear to have stood above ground. Some of these sarcophagi present a very peculiar mode of sepulture.[1]

After the body had been laid, apparently in full dress (most of the bodies are those of women), on its back at the bottom of the chest, liquid lime was poured in until the body was covered. This, becoming hard, has preserved an impression of the body, of which the skeleton is often found entire. In one coffin at York the lime bears the impression of a female with a small child laid in her lap, and the garments in which they were buried, of the colour of a rich purple, as well as the texture of the cloth which covered her, are distinctly visible in the impression.

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[1] Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, p. 108.

Sarcophagi where the body has not been burned are sometimes found made of baked clay, either in one piece with a lid, or in several pieces, so formed as to fit together. Examples have been found in York and Aldborough.

Some coffins found in Britain are of lead. Many examples have been found in Roman cemeteries and several are preserved in the museum. One 6 feet long[1] has a corded pattern worked on it. Inside the coffin, and embedded in gypsum, were the remains of a lady, whose hair, containing two jet pins, has been preserved. The lead coffin is enclosed in a stone coffin; this was found under the booking-office of the new station at York.

Sometimes the sepulchral chest was expanded into a spacious chamber. One still exists under a house on the Mount. It is a large domed vault of brick, 8 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 6 feet high, and contains a beautiful wrought coffin of limestone in remarkably good preservation. The Roman sepulchral inscription usually consists of a slab of stone, which appears to have been fixed on the ground like our common gravestones. At York, inscriptions are found on both sides of some of the large sarcophagi. The inscription is often surmounted by a sculptured figure, intended sometimes to represent the individual commemorated by it.

Usually inscriptions are dedicated at the beginning to the gods of the shades (perhaps the shades of the departed), *diis manibus*, commonly expressed by the letters D.M. The name of the deceased is then stated, with his age, and, if a soldier, the number of years he has served. This is usually followed by the name of the person who has raised the tomb. The age is often stated with great precision. The Romans appear to have had a superstitious dread of the word death; they did not say a person died on such a day, but that he or she lived so many years, months, and days.

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[1] Figured in Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. vii. p. 178.

Many of the Roman sepulchral inscriptions display feelings of the truest and most affectionate description. They are addressed to the deceased by near relations, and are sometimes from a parent to a child, children and parents, or a wife to her husband; for example, a large sarcophagus found at York was made to receive an infant whose father was a soldier in the Sixth Legion. The inscription: D.M. SIMPLECLAE FLORENTINE | ANIME INNOCENTISSIME | QVE VIXIT MENSES DECEM | FELICIVS · SIMPLEX · PATER FECIT | LEG · VI · V. "To the Gods, the Manes. To Simplicia Florentina, a most innocent being, who lived ten months. Felicius Simplex, her father, of the Sixth Legion Victorious, dedicated this."[1] The words "anime innocentissime" are also found on the Christian tombs in the Catacombs of Rome.

Another large coffin of coarse grit, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet 11 inches, found in the castle yard in 1835, is inscribed on a panel: "To the Gods, the Manes. To Aurelius Superus, a Centurion of the Sixth Legion, who lived thirty-eight years, four months, and thirteen days, Aurelia Censorina, his wife, set up this memorial."

In the museum is a large tablet found in use as a cover to the sarcophagus of Ælia Severa. The upper part shows the figure of a father and mother and two children. The inscription, so far as it can be read, is as follows: D.M. FLAVIÆ AVGVSTINAE | VIXIT · AN · XXXVIIII · M · VII D · XI · FILIVS | . . . VS · AVGSTINVS · VIXIT AN · I · D III · | . . . VIXIT · AN · I · M · VIIII · D · V · CÆRESIVS | . . . MIL · LEG · VI · VIC · CONVGI · CAR | FILIIS · ET · SIBI · E · C. From which it appears that "Cæresius . . . a soldier of the Sixth Legion, raised this memorial to his wife, Flavis Augustina, who lived thirty-nine years, seven months, and eleven days . . . to his son Augustinus, who lived one year and three days, and to a daughter, who lived one year,

[1] Canon Raine took this inscription as a peg on which to hang his beautiful story of a Roman child's life, *Simplicia Florentina, York, A.D.* 100.

nine months, and five days," providing at the same time a memorial for himself.[1]

Another stone is inscribed: "To the Manes of Ælia Severa, who died aged twenty-seven years, eight months, and four days, once the wife of Cæcilius Rufus. Cæcilius Musicus, her freeman (her husband being dead), erected this monument to her memory." When found the letters were still filled with red paint.

A sepulchral monument was found at Ilkley, in 1884, representing a female seated figure, with an imperfect inscription beneath, which Mr. Watkin[2] read as follows: "To the divine shades of . . . daughter of . . . thirty years of age, a Conovian Citizen. Here she is laid." Mr. Watkin thinks the inscription unique, as it is the only inscription of a Conovian citizen which has been found in Britain.

No one has turned his attention to the religion of the Romans in Britain, without earnestly and anxiously asking the question: "Are there any traces during the Roman period of the introduction of Christianity into Britain?" Prior to 1901 not a trace of Christianity had been found among the innumerable religious and sepulchral monuments of the Roman period found in Britain.[3] But Mr. Platnauer[4] maintains that there is "unequivocal evidence" of the introduction of Christianity into York, by the discovery of a coffin containing the bones of a young woman, inscribed: AVE [S]O[ROR] VIVAS IN DEO.

POTTERY.—Few collections of Roman-British pottery can be compared with that preserved in York Museum. No Roman city or camp in England has yielded so vast a number of articles. They amount to over 750, and besides there are a multitude of other objects illustrating

[1] See M'Caul's *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 217.
[2] *Archæological Journal*, vol. lii. p. 153.
[3] Wright's *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 355.
[4] *Handbook to York and District*, 1906, p. 27.

the life and manners of the Romans in York. Attention can only be called to a few items.

Vestiges of Roman potteries have been traced at Middlethorp, Castle Howard, Holme-on-Spalding Moor, and in York, and there is every reason to believe that much of the pottery found at York and Aldborough is of local manufacture. Remains of kilns have been discovered at various places in England—for instance, at Upchurch, Castor, in Staffordshire, &c. The black Upchurch ware is found more or less on almost all Roman sites, but Castor ware is by no means common. Samian ware is found in considerable quantities. Imitations of it have been made in Britain, but the genuine ware is believed to have been imported from the continent. Samian ware is of an extremely delicate texture, and distinguished by its compact nature, and its red or coral-coloured glaze. It was held in great esteem by the Romans, and extensively used by them for domestic purposes, but it is rarely found in other than a broken condition. Examples of all kinds are preserved in the York Museum, and to a lesser degree in the Aldborough Museum. Samian ware was of two kinds, embossed and plain. The former are commonly in the shape of bowls, or drinking cups, of various sizes. They are generally ornamented with a festoon and tassel border, and below that a variety of ornaments. Some represent scrolls of foliage, fruits, and flowers; other groups taken from mythological sources (*e.g.* Diana with her bow), others from hunting scenes (lions, boars, wolves, &c.), gladiatorial and kindred objects (one fine bowl is decorated with a string of captives chained together), bacchanalian processions, sacrificial ceremonies, the chase of wild animals, domestic scenes, and other objects connected with ancient customs. Some vases are ornamented with a singular pattern in relief, called the "frill pattern," which is thought to have been exclusively manufactured at York. The plain or embossed vessels of Samian ware are generally of a smaller

size and of a great variety in form. Some are ornamented with a simple ivy leaf scroll on the rim. A large proportion of Samian ware has the name of the potter stamped on a label at the bottom of the inside, but sometimes it is on the outside. Over 78 potter's marks on vessels have been observed in the York Museum. One bowl found at York is 8½ inches in diameter, exhibiting an armed soldier and other figures, with the maker's name, "Divixti," on the outside.

Among the most important items of pottery were the "amphoræ" or wine vessels. They are of large dimensions and strongly made, though rarely found unbroken. Two kinds are known, some long and slender, the other is more special in shape and shorter in the neck. Both sorts were pointed at the bottom, for the purpose, it is said, of fixing them in the earth.

Another manufacture, in which the Romans attained to great excellence, was that of glass, much of it of extraordinary beauty. From the brittle character of the material, glass vessels are found in a perfect state much more seldom than pottery, and perfect specimens are rarely found, except in sepulchral interments. In some instances, the embossed ornaments are of an elaborate kind and extend to figures and inscriptions. In the York Museum is a fragment of a small bluish green glass vase, on the rim of which is represented a chariot race in the circus. On this portion of the rim is seen a *quadriga* with the charioteer, and part of the forelegs of the horses of another *quadriga* following, and between these the column bearing the seven *ova*, by means of which the spectators could count the number of rounds in the course which had been run, one of the *ova* being taken down at the completion of each course.

Drinking cups are not infrequently found. "It was a trait of Roman sentiment both on the continent and in Britain to accompany familiar or domestic occupations with invocations of happiness or good fortune upon those

who took part in them, and this seems to have been especially the case in their convivial entertainments."[1] In the York Museum are several vessels of dark clay pottery, ornamented with white lines or scrolls, and with inscriptions running round them, such as MISCEMI ("Mix for me"), DAMI ("Give me"), VIVAS ("May you live"), &c.

YORK.—The story of Roman Yorkshire is practically the story of Roman Eboracum (York). And for both we are almost wholly dependent upon lapidary inscriptions and the evidence of coins. Taking into consideration the long duration at York of the civil government of Britain, it is somewhat surprising that the literary notices of Roman York are so few and brief.

The first literary and certain notice of York is to be found in Ptolemy's Geography, written some time in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which began in A.D. 138. In describing the British tribes he says: "And south from the Elgovæ and the Otadem, stretching from sea to sea, are the Brigantes, among whose towns are Epiacum, Vinnoviam, Catarractonium, Calatum, Isurium, Rigodunum, Olicana, Eboracum (Legio Sexta Victrix), Camuulodonum; besides these, about the well-havened bay, are the Parisi and the City Petuaria."

Of the towns named lying within the boundaries of the modern Yorkshire, Catarractonium, Isurium, Olicana, and Cambodunum (spelt Camuulodonum by Ptolemy in error), are represented by the Roman stations at Thornborough, near Catterick, Aldborough, Ilkley, York, and Slack, near Halifax. Petuaria is undetermined, but is probably Beverley. When Ptolemy wrote his account of the Brigantes, it is evident York had then been occupied by the Romans for some time, as the Sixth Legion did not arrive in Britain until A.D. 117. When Roman York was founded is uncertain, and the probability is that it owes its foundation

[1] Wright, *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 286.

to Agricola, some thirty years earlier, and that it was colonised by the Ninth Legion about the year A.D. 80.

There are two bronze tablets in the York Museum, which carry the evidence for the Roman occupation to a very early date. They were found in York, on the site of the old railway station. They are about 3 inches long by 2 inches broad, originally coated with silver, and bear punctured inscriptions in Greek of a very remarkable character. The tablets are votive offerings appended to shrines by a person called Demetrius the scribe. The first inscription is dedicated to the gods of the General's Prætorium, which contained altars or inscriptions to heathen deities.[1] The second inscription is dedicated to two marine divinities, Oceanus and Tethys.

Canon Raine[2] (and the Rev. C. W. King) identify "Demetrius the scribe with Demetrius the grammarian, a native of Tarsus, whom Plutarch mentions in his *Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles* as visiting him at Delphi on his way home from Britain. He had been sent officially to that country by the Emperor Domitian, perhaps to enquire among other things into its products, especially in metals. . . . It is quite possible that Demetrius may have played his part in the endeavours of Agricola to teach letters and acquaintance with useful arts to the people whom he had helped to subdue."

There are other inscriptions which give some indication of the early foundation of York. In 1854 part of a large inscribed tablet of limestone was discovered in digging a drain in King's Square, York. The inscription, which is arranged in six lines and beautifully cut, when perfect probably ran as follows: "The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan, son of the deified Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Chief Pontiff, invested the twelfth time with

[1] This inscription has been engraved as an illustration to Farrar's *Life of Christ*, 1st ed., p. 764, under St. John xviii. 28, as "explanatory of the unwillingness of the Jews to enter into Pilate's Prætorium, lest they should be defiled by the heathen deities who were represented there."

[2] *Historic Towns* (York), p. 16.

Tribunitian powers, Consul the fifth time, Father of his country, caused this to be performed by the Ninth Legion (called) the Spanish." It is evident from the date assigned to this inscription (A.D. 108–9) that Eboracum was already a walled city and a place of importance. What was the work "performed" referred to in this inscription? As the stone was found at King's Square, it may commemorate the building of the old official palace of the emperor.

Another stone in the museum, known throughout Europe and thought to be a monument of the first century, is a monumental stone, 6 feet 2 inches high by 2 feet 2 inches wide, on which is the figure of a standard-bearer in an arched recess. In his right hand he holds the standard or signum of his cohort; in his left, an object about which there has been much doubt. This stone was found about 1686, in Trinity Gardens, Micklegate, and the inscription may be read: "Lucius Duccius, Rufinus, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe of Vienna, Standard-bearer of the Ninth Legion, aged twenty-eight, is buried here."

Of the inscribed stones in the museum, two are of more than ordinary interest, not only for the story of their discovery, but as bearing upon the somewhat debatable question whether York was a *Municipium* as well as a *Colonia*. Camden in 1579–80 noticed a stone coffin near the city wall. In the following century it was carried to Hull, where it was seen by De la Pryne in 1699, and by Horsley in 1732. It was there used as a horse-trough, at an inn called the Coach and Horses. It then bore an inscription which read as follows: M. VEREC · DIOGENES · ///// IVIR · COL · | EBOR · IBIDEMQ · MORT · CIVES BITVRIX | CVBVS · HAEC SIBI · VIVVS FECIT · | which has been translated: "Marcus Verecundus Diogenes Sevir of the Colonia of Eboracum, and who died there a citizen of Biturix Cubus, caused these to be made for him during his lifetime." "The Seviri formed a college, or legal corporation, the duties of

which are still imperfectly known.[1] They seem to have been taken from the more wealthy tradesmen, and to have much to do with public works of various kinds."

From the occurrence of the word "*hæc*" it was presumed that Diogenes had prepared a coffin for his wife while she was alive, and this presumption was confirmed by the discovery at York in 1877 of another coffin in an excellent state of preservation, with the following inscription: IVL · FORTVNATE · DOMO | SARDINIA · VEREC · DIO | GENI FIDA CONIVNCTA MARITO. There can be no doubt that we have here the tomb of Julia Fortunata, the wife of Diogenes, the Sevir of York.

In 1872, a sarcophagus of a Decurion of the Colonia of Eboracum was discovered near the railway bridge. The coffin bears an inscription in faint characters: D M FLAVI BELLATORIS DEC COL EBORACENS VIXIT ANNIS XXYIIII MENS . . . . . (rest illegible). The editors of the Museum Catalogue, p. 54, say, "This inscription is of great importance, as it establishes the fact that Eboracum was a municipium, which was not previously known."

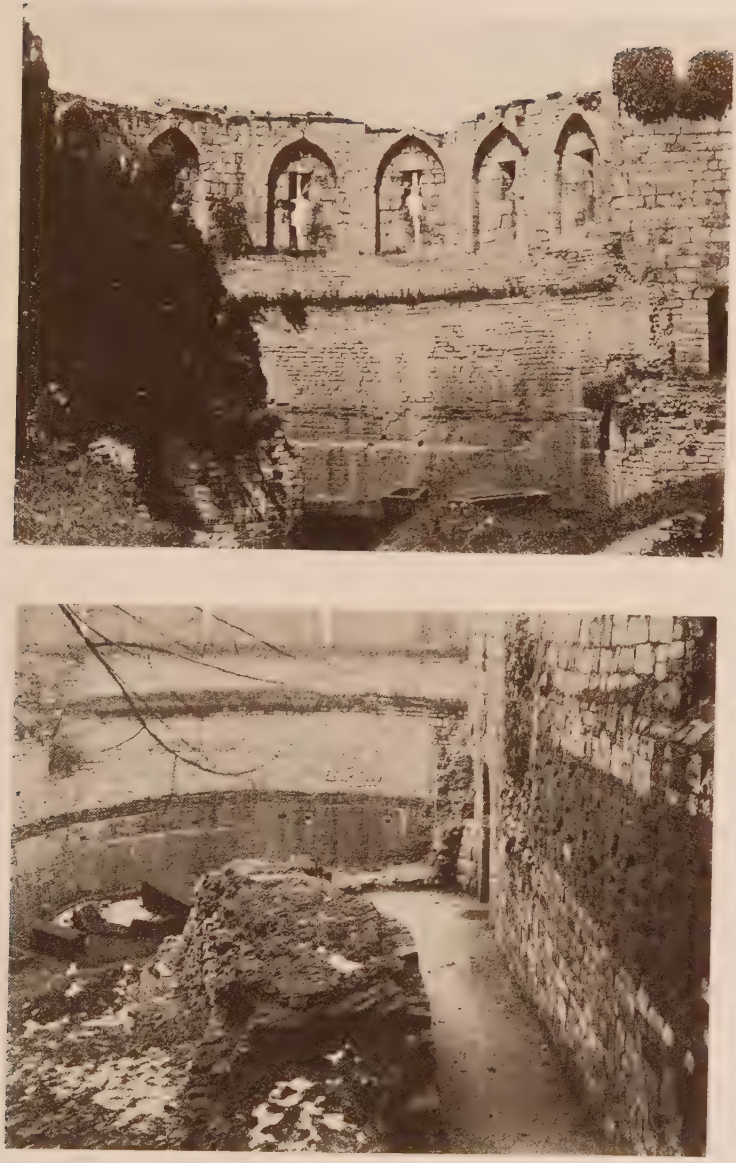
When and by whom the fortifications of York were erected cannot be fixed with certainty. The Roman camp was placed on the left bank of the Ouse, almost parallel with and about 100 yards from the river. It was probably defended at first by a rampart of earth, subsequently superseded by a stone wall. The camp was apparently at first rectangular, after the usual plan of a Roman camp of about 540 yards by 480 yards. Four large towers stood at the angles: one still remains in the museum grounds, another was in Feasegate, a third at Monk Bar, and a fourth near the junction of Gillygate and Lord Mayor's Walk. Probably the camp was subsequently enlarged by an extension of the south-east wall, thereby converting the original rectangle

[1] For a discussion of the duties of Seviri see Kenrick's article in *Proceedings of Y.S.P.*, 1855, p. 52, "On the Sarcophagus of Marcus Verecundus Diogenes and the Civil Administration of Roman York;" also Museum Handbook, p. 54.

into a pentagon. Little of the Roman Wall is now to be seen above ground, but from excavations at various points its general direction can be ascertained on three sides with tolerable accuracy. The south-eastern side ran from Market Street to the angle tower in the ground of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, known as the Multangular Tower; the north-western side ran along the line of the present city wall to the corner of Gillygate and Lord Mayor's Walk, and is buried under the mediæval earthworks upon which the present city wall rests; the north-eastern side ran past Monk Bar (where about 120 yards of it, faced with the original ashlar blocks, may still be seen in the inner rampart in Mr. Lund's yard) to a point near the site of the old church of St. Helen's-on-the-Walls. The direction of the south-eastern wall cannot be satisfactorily ascertained.

Although York was the chief city of Roman Britain, it began as a camp, and a camp it remained in all its principal features until the Romans finally withdrew from Britain. Roman York only occupied a small part of the site of modern York. The camp always remained a separate area, enclosed by walls and constituting the official part of Eboracum. The auxiliaries, camp followers, and merchants occupied a small settlement outside the walls, and in process of time a considerable town sprang up on the opposite bank of the river, and on the side of the roads leading to Tadcaster (Calcaria) and Aldborough (Isurium). Remains of baths, temples, and villas were found on constructing the old railway station within the walls of mediæval York on the south side of the river, and the site of the new station and hotel, which stand partly upon a Roman cemetery, has yielded many inscriptions and other mementoes of burial.

Eboracum was intersected by several Roman roads. The road to Isurium (Aldborough) passed through Bootham Bar, which stands on the site of one of the gates of the Roman city, and may be in some parts Roman work; and a road in this direction has been traced, passing



INTERIOR OF THE MULTANGULAR TOWER, YORK.

along the course of Stonegate and under the site of the choir of the Minster, which, like the Minster at Lincoln, stands within the area of the Roman camp. Some time ago the old Roman road, paved and concreted, was found about six feet below the modern pavement of Stonegate, and a peculiar channel of grooved stone was found running down the centre of it, similar to the grooved channel on the Roman road over Blackstone Edge.

York cannot boast of such extensive masses of Roman work as are found at Richborough and at Brough near Yarmouth; but it possesses, in the Multangular Tower and the portion of the wall adjoining on the easterly side, one of the most perfect Roman fortifications to be found in England.

"The tower is a shell of masonry, presenting nine faces, 45 feet in exterior diameter, and 24 feet wide at the gorge, which is open. It is not placed, as in mediæval works, so as merely to cap the junction of two walls which would have met at a right angle, but the whole angle is superseded, as in Roman camps, by a curve of 50 feet radius, and the tower stands in the centre of this curve, three-quarters of it presenting its nine faces, being disengaged. The tower and its contiguous wall are 5 feet thick. The Roman part of the wall is about 15 feet high. It is of rubble, faced on either front with ashlar, the blocks being from 4 to 5 inches cube. There is one band of five courses of bricks, each brick 17 inches by 11 inches by 2½ inches, that may be traced along both tower and wall, although the surface of both has been much patched and injured. Upon the Roman work has been placed an ashlar upper storey, composed of larger stones, about 3 feet thick and 12 feet high, pierced by nine cuniform loops, one in each face, and each set in a pointed recess. This addition is of early English or early decorated date. The wall extending south-west from the tower for 53 yards is of the same date, material, and workmanship. Both having escaped destruction in the post-Roman period, were incorporated into the

defences of the later city. The wall on the other side of the tower, running eastwards, has been partially destroyed, and is now only 4 feet high, and at a short distance becomes buried in a later bank. This part of the wall was evidently destroyed before the earthwork was thrown up, for not only is it buried within the bank, but the wall of the mediæval city is here found 4 feet in front of it, and in other places many feet above it."[1]

A considerable portion of the Roman wall near St. Leonard's Place and Bootham Bar was removed to make the present entrance into the city. It was then found that the wall stood upon piles of oak 2 feet 6 inches in length, and on these was raised a mass of concrete 2 feet 3 inches in depth, then an ashlar wall of stone with courses of brick near its centre. The wall was about 4 feet 10 inches thick, diminishing gradually to 4 feet at the height of 16 feet. It was furnished internally with guard-rooms and turrets, still to be seen under the rampart behind St. Leonard's Place, and strengthened by angle towers, now buried under the rampart of the city wall.

ISURIUM.[2]—Aldborough, on the Ure, is no doubt the ancient Isurium mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the towns of the Brigantes, and by other writers as their capital and the seat of Queen Cartismandua. It is twice mentioned in the *Itinerary*, where in one place it is called "Isu Brigantium." There seem to be indications that Isurium was originally a more important place than York, and that the second and fifth Itinera originally ran direct to Aldborough, leaving York to the right, and that it was only when York became the headquarters of the Romans that the routes of the troops to the north were directed to pass through York.

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[1] G. T. Clark "On the Defences of York," in *Yorks. A. and T. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 7.

[2] See "Reliquiæ Isurianæ," by H. Ecroyd Smith, 1852, and "A Survey of Isurium," by the late Dr. A. H. D. Leadman, *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 412.

But be that as it may, Isurium was at all events the second place of importance in Yorkshire under the Romans, and in no other place except York, have so many extensive remains of Roman civilisation been found. After the Romans withdrew from Britain, Isurium continued to flourish, until about 766, when Higden (Polychronica) asserts that Isurium was burnt by the Danes, and it is said that traces of fire are still visible upon parts of the walls.

The Roman camp was walled like that at York, but without angle towers. It formed an oblong parallelogram, irregular in shape on the north, the length being about 1940 feet, and the breadth about 1320, and enclosing an area of about 60 acres.[1] The walls can still be traced, and vary from 11 to 16 feet in thickness. They are built of red sandstone mixed with magnesian limestone. Some of the exposed portions in Mr. Lawson's grounds are in excellent preservation.

Isurium was intersected by two Roman roads, Watling Street and Ermine Street, and appears to have had no gate to the north. A mile from the east gate is a piece of Roman road, about 500 yards in length, which, Dr. Leadman says, is "the sole remaining bit in the district." The church at Aldborough stands in the very centre of the camp, and is partly built with Roman material, and has built into the walls a figure of Mercury.

Numerous tesselated pavements, in all about twenty-five, have been discovered at Aldborough, but only seven remain *in situ;* five are preserved, but not *in situ*, three others have been sold to museums. One of the very finest, representing a she-wolf with two children on the ground under her, is now in the museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society. In the garden of the Aldburge Arms

[1] The best plan of the camp is that in the Yorkshire Archæological Society's *Journal*, prepared by the Ordnance Surveyors, with Dr. Leadman's assistance, and it will be noted that it differs on the north from Mr. Ecroyd Smith's plan in excluding certain fields known as "under the walls" from the area of the camp.

are two very fine ones protected by buildings. The first was accidentally discovered in 1832, and the central picture represents an animal resting beneath a palm tree. The other, found in 1848 by Mr. H. E. Smith, is one of the most beautiful and probably the most perfect in Yorkshire. The so-called Roman Basilica was discovered in 1846. It is a building 52 feet in length and 12 feet in width, and has an apsidal end. In the apse is the lower half of a figure, draped in long flowing robes, the hands holding a scroll, on which are the fragments of a Greek inscription, which Mr. Leadman renders "Have pity" (?) and thinks the building to have been a temple of justice.

In Mr. Lawson's grounds is a museum where Roman remains discovered at Aldborough are preserved. Among them is a tile marked "Leg Ix Hisp," from which it has been conjectured that Isurium was at one time garrisoned by the Ninth Legion. Although many tesselated pavements have been discovered in York and Aldborough, none appear to have been found farther north than Well and Harpham.

ILKLEY.—Until the middle of the last century Ilkley remained much in the same state as when Whitaker [1] saw it in 1771. After remarking that the town of Ilkley was almost barred up by trackless wastes and impracticable roads upon every quarter other than the great post-road from Kendal to York, he describes the town as lying "snug in the hollow of a valley, mean, dirty, and insignificant, known only to the antiquarian for some curious inscriptions that have been discovered at it, and to the invalid for a fine spring of mineral water that had been found about a mile from it."

Ilkley is no doubt the "Olicana" mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the chief "towns of the Brigantes," but is not mentioned either in the *Itinerary* or the *Notitia*. The numerous springs of clear, cold water, and the pleasant

[1] *History of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 141.

situation of the settlement, lying on the banks of the swift flowing Wharfe ("Wherfe") between the wild moorlands of Rumald and Middleton, recommended "Olicana" to the Romans for a station, the remains of which still exist on the south side of the Wharfe. In the absence of a proper survey, the extent of the camp can only be conjectured. In Whitaker's time, and until recently, it could be clearly traced. He says:—

"The site is admirably defended by the Wherfe (Wharfe) in front, and by two brooks at the sides. The Wharfe glides along the northern front of it. A very narrow level of boggy ground ranges between the river, and that and the area look down from a steep brow of 25 or 30 yards in height; the western brook had half its waters diverted into another channel . . . the eastern brook is remarkably brisk, and runs about 20 yards below the crest of the brow, and both of them discharge their waters into the Wherfe, a few yards below the station. The whole area is about 100 yards by 160 . . . the whole extent of the area contained about 4 acres of ground, encompassing a building called 'the Castle,' and including the church and its area, and the vallum of the station presents itself to the eye at the north-western angle, and is easily discovered under the turf along the whole compass of the brows, being the rough sable flagstones of the country cemented together with indissoluble mortar."

In 1905-6 Brook Street was extended northwards to the river, and in the construction of the new road the easterly side of the camp was cut away, but though large fragments of Roman pottery were found, the excavation disclosed no Roman remains of any importance.

The Roman settlement extended far beyond the limit of the camp, as is evidenced by numerous fragments from time to time unearthed in excavations. Most of these have been found between Church Street and the Grove, and some are to be seen in the local Museum of Ilkley. A Roman well, the sides of which were held up by oaken slabs of great thickness, was found in the middle of Brook Street, and the pavement of the Roman road still exists beneath the Ilkley Hospital buildings and grounds.

Many inscriptions, formerly found at Ilkley, have disappeared. When Camden visited Ilkley in 1582, he saw

an inscribed stone lately dug up, but which is now lost: "To the Emperors Severus, Augustus, and Antonius, Cæsar elect, restored under the care of Virius Lupus, their Legate and Pro-Prætor."

From this inscription we may conjecture that Virius Lupus repaired or fortified the camp at Ilkley between 198–210 A.D.

At Myddleton Lodge is preserved an altar with an inscription now illegible but which Camden says was dedicated: "To Verbia Sacred Clodius Fronto, Prefect of the Cohort, Second Lingones."

In 1867 a tablet, 5 feet 8 inches long and 3 feet 4 inches wide, was unearthed. It is figured in Turner and Collier's *Ilkley* (p. 28), where it is said to represent a family group, father, mother, and child, but the space for the names is left blank.

MALTON.—Although Malton is not mentioned in any of the Roman Itineraries, it was certainly one of the most important of Roman stations, and was the site of a considerable camp, probably occupied by the Ninth Legion. The camp extended south of Malton Lodge (which is built on its vallum) towards the river and formed a large quadrangle, with a smaller enclosure at the south-east angle opposite the Prætorian Gate. A road leaving the camp by the Prætorian Gate crossed the river at a ford by the island to a small square camp constructed for the defence of the fort, but this camp has been built over and is no longer traceable. The road passed southwards towards Londesborough, where it fell into another Roman road. In 1861 and 1862 the road to the ford was cut through and exposed in several places in making drains. At old Malton a monument of somewhat remarkable character was found, probably the sign of a Roman goldsmith named Servulus. The inscription is within a tablet or label, roughly cut, and reads as follows: FELICITER SIT GENIO LOCI SERVVLE VTERE FELIX TABERN AM AVRIFI CINAM. We gather from

it that it is a votive inscription of a *genius loci*, and was probably affixed to the goldsmith's house to which it alludes.

Not only was Malton a permanent Roman station, but many roads radiated from and to it. Mr. Codrington [1] pointed out how little York seems to have been considered in laying out the Roman roads on the east of Yorkshire. Roman roads have been traced from Malton northwards by Barton le Street, Appleton le Street, and Hovingham in the direction of Thirsk, Northallerton, and Catterick. Westward by Fearsley camp to Isurium (Aldborough), southward to Stamford Bridge and York, and eastwards by Wharram le Street in the direction of Bridlington, and northward by Wade's Causeway to near Whitby.

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[1] *Roman Roads in Britain*, 2nd edit., p. 384.

THE FOREST OF OUSE AND DERWENT AND OTHER ROYAL FORESTS OF YORKSHIRE

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE royal forests or districts reserved as the hunting-grounds of our kings and those deputed to serve them occupied a very considerable part of the vast area of Yorkshire.

The chief royal forests of the county were Galtres, Hatfield, Knaresborough, Skipton, Pickering, and those of the Wensleydale or Richmond district. The woodlands of the honour of Pontefract approximated in several respects to the definition of a forest. To these another important old forest region, almost entirely forgotten as a forest for many a long century, must be added, namely, that of the Ouse and Derwent in the East Riding. It is proposed in this brief sketch to give a few words on each of these forests, and then to give more particular attention to the one that occupied the whole of an important East Riding wapentake.

A few preliminary words must, however, be first put on record with regard to England's mediæval forests in general, as the whole subject is so often misunderstood. To begin with, the present-day use of the term "forest" differs considerably from the signification that it bore in earlier times. A forest did not originally mean a district covered with trees or underwood. The English word "forest" signified, in Norman, Plantagenet, and early Tudor times, a portion of territory consisting of extensive waste lands, but including

a certain amount of both woodland and pasture, circumscribed by definite metes or bounds, within which the right of hunting was reserved exclusively to the king and his nominees, and which was subject to a special code of laws administered by local as well as central ministers. From the fact that so many wastes were covered with wood or undergrowth, it gradually came about that the term "forest" (which has no etymological connection with timber, but means a waste) was applied to a great wood. Such a consideration as this at once explains the application of the name forest to districts like Dartmoor, Exmoor, or the High Peak of Derbyshire, where it is idle to pretend that anything more than mere fragments of these great tracts were ever wooded in the time of man. Taking one with another, there is little doubt that by far the larger part of the area of the Yorkshire forests was never tree-covered.

The popular idea as to the cruel severity of the Forest Laws seldom takes into account that this early severity was greatly modified by the Forest Charter of 1217. King John had been compelled to agree, by one of the articles of Magna Charta, to the disafforesting of all the great tracts of country which he had made forest during his own reign, and the child-king, Henry III., who was made to issue his Forest Charter two years later, covenanted by that ordinance, in consideration of a grant to the Crown of one-fifteenth of all movables of the kingdom, to disafforest all lands that had been made forest by Henry II. It was not, however, until March 1274–75, that the last of the special perambulations of forests, by twelve knights elected for the purpose, were made in order to carry out the disafforesting provisions of the charter.

Forests were under the rule of frequently held courts, usually termed swainmotes, presided over by local officials, and under the fitfully held eyres, or forest pleas, for graver offences, presided over by the crown-appointed justices in eyre.

Forest offences were divided into two main classes: *venison*, concerning all matters relative to hunting, destroying, or interfering with the game; and *vert*, concerning all matters relative to the due preservation of the timber and underwood.

Much of the property within a forest district, including woods and parks, was often private property, but in such cases the private rights were decidedly limited. Thus the owner of a wood within a forest might not fence it in so high as to exclude the deer, nor might he fell or sell its timber without royal sanction.[1]

THE FOREST OF WENSLEYDALE.—This general name includes the large forest district of Richmond in the West Riding, where there were a considerable number of wild dales and woods to the north-west of Richmond which were for a time at least subject to forest law, and sometimes retained that title long after they had been disafforested. The actual forest of Wensleydale extended up the Ure valley to the confines of Westmorland; it was about eighteen miles in length, with an average of six miles in width. The forests of the Earls of Richmond included, besides that of Wensleydale, all Applegarth and Arkengarthdale, as well as that part of Stainmore included in the parish of Bowes. North-west was Lune forest, whilst southward lay Bishopsdale Chase. Middleham, where stood the magnificent castle of the Nevills, was for a long period the centre of the forest government of Wensleydale. There is much information at the Public Record Office with regard to the parks which

[1] There has been much misapprehension, until quite recent years, on the subject of England's royal forests. Marwood's work, written in Elizabethan days, when the old forest laws and customs were already in abeyance, is quite unreliable in various particulars, especially with regard to the beasts of the forest. Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forests* (Selden Society, 1901) is the one scholarly book on the question. See also the more popular *Royal Forests* (1905) by Dr. Cox. The chapter in this latter work on Yorkshire forests gives many particulars as to the forests of Galtres and Pickering. The *Victoria County History* scheme, as it proceeds, gives a section on forestry for each shire.

used to encircle Middleham. Swaledale was the last refuge of the red deer of this once great stretch of forest; they remained here in considerable numbers as late as 1723. There are full particulars extant with regard to an eyre held at Middleham in August 1539 by the forest justices for all that part of Richmond.

THE FOREST OF PICKERING.—Pickering Lythe, or Liberty, comprised a great stretch of woodland in early days. The Domesday Survey gives the rough measurement of this great wood (*silva*) as about twenty-four miles in length and six in breadth.[1] This measurement seems to indicate the whole wapentake of Pickering, and this would be one of those rare cases in which a "forest" was almost entirely woodland, save for the clearings round the villages or settlements. This forest was of great repute for both wild boars and roe deer, as well as for the red deer that roamed at large, and the fallow deer of the large park of Blandsby. The tithe of the deer belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, York. The manuscript information with regard to Pickering forest is most abundant and full of interest; its story would make an entertaining volume. Many of the documents pertaining to it have been transcribed by Mr. Turton for the second series of the North Riding Record Society.

THE FOREST OF KNARESBOROUGH, with its three bailiwicks or wards, covered a wide extent of country round the castle of Knaresborough; its length, from east to west, was twenty miles, and its breadth, from north to south, was in some parts eight miles. Originally a royal forest, it became a chase when Henry III. granted it to Henry de Burgh, Earl of Kent, and his heirs. On the earl joining the standard of Simon de Montford, the house of Knaresborough was forfeited to the Crown, and was bestowed on Richard, Earl of Cornwall. When Edmund, second Earl of

[1] The *luca* or league of Domesday was probably about a mile and a half in length.

Cornwall, died in 1300, Knaresborough again reverted to the Crown, when the district again came under forest law. The final extinction of the remnant of this forest came about through an Act of Inclosure of 1770.

THE FOREST OF SKIPTON occupied the central part of the wide district of Craven, in the West Riding, and was chiefly of a rocky character. It extended east and west from the Wharfe to the Aire, comprising an area of about six miles by four. Partly subject to it, but having its own minor forest officials, was the adjacent smaller forest of Barden. There can be no reasonable doubt that the present red deer in the Duke of Devonshire's park of Bolton are the descendants of those that used to roam at large through the forest districts of Craven.

HATFIELD CHASE was a great swampy area, with a few patches of woodland, situated on the eastern boundary of the West Riding, to the north-east of Doncaster. It also ran a short distance into the adjacent counties of both Lincoln and Nottingham. A chase differed from a forest in being the property of a subject and not of a sovereign; but though this chase came to the Crown in the fourteenth century, and remained under forest law for some three centuries, it never lost its older appellation. The central area of upwards of 70,000 acres was known as the Level of Hatfield Chase; but the purlieus or outlands on the borders, over which there were certain rights of following the deer, and where the inhabitants dare not do more than scare them away, were of still greater extent. The whole run of the chase, including the purlieus, amounted to about 180,000 acres. The full story of this chase, which has never been written, abounds in interest. It was held by the great family of the Warrens, Earls of Surrey, from the Conquest down to 1347. After it had come to the Crown, Edward Baliol, the ex-King of Scotland, was allowed to hunt both red and roe deer on this chase,

as well as fallow deer within the park of Hatfield. In the time of Henry VIII. the swanneries of the chase were an important royal asset. At the beginning of the reign of James I., when the red deer of Hatfield were estimated at a thousand head, there was some remarkable hunting indulged in by Prince Henry. This chase ceased to be a "forest" in 1626, when it was drained under the direction of Cornelius Vermuyden.

THE FOREST OF GALTRES, in the centre of the county, stretched away from the very gates of York for fifteen miles due north to the summit of Crayke Hill, and nearly twenty miles north-west to the ancient town of Aldborough. It was a favourite hunting-ground of the Saxon kings. The notices of this forest, from the time of Henry III. downwards, are very frequent. Successive kings frequently drew on its stores of red and fallow deer, as well as of timber, for making presents to their favourites. The records of the Swainmote Courts of this forest are unusually complete for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The forest pleas of 1538 supply much information. During the great Civil War this forest suffered severely; the whole district was disafforested in the reign of Charles II.

THE FOREST OF OUSE AND DERWENT.—The whole of the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent formed in early days one of the largest forest districts of Yorkshire, but its existence as a forest, owing to its disafforesting being purchased of Henry III., has been overlooked by almost every historian or topographist who has written about the county.

The wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, which forms the south-western division of the East Riding, touches the limits of the city of York at the north-west angle, and has the old high-road that stretches north-east from York to Stamford Bridge as its northern boundary. The river Ouse forms its western and southern boundary; whilst the

river Derwent is the eastern boundary from Stamford Bridge to Barmby in the south, where it falls into the Ouse. Its extreme length is nearly twenty miles, and the average width about seven miles. Within the confines of this wapentake are the following parishes or townships: Barlby, Bowthorpe, Brackenholme, Deighton, Dunnington, Elvington, Escrick, Gate Fulford, Grimston, Hemingborough, Heslington, Kelfield, Kexby, Langwith, Menthorpe, Moreby, Naburn, North Duffield, Osgodby, Riccall, Scoreby, Skipwith, South Duffield, Stamford Bridge, Stillingfleet, Thorganby, Water Fulford, Wheldrake, and Woodall. The whole of this territory used to be under forest rule.

The earliest record entries that we have met with of this forest occur in the year 1220. In April of that year the king committed the wardship of the forest between the Ouse and Derwent to John Cawood, who had exercised a like control in the days of King John. He was to hold the office of bailiff of the forest until it was decided whether a previous perambulation of the metes and bounds was a just one, and whether the sworn knights had been interfered with during their perambulation.[1] In the following June, Cawood received a royal precept instructing him to allow the brethren of the leper house of St. Nicholas, York, to have reasonable estover (or peat cutting for fuel) within this forest, as they had been wont to do in the reigns of Henry II. and John.[2]

In the same month, when the king was at York, orders were issued to the knights, free tenants, and others of the forest of Ouse and Derwent that they were to appear at the place and time indicated, before Ilger Hemelseye, Ralph de Babbethorp, and Gerard de Skipwic, the verderers, and John de Cawood, chief forester, to answer in all things pertaining to the forest, in the same manner that they had been wont to do in the time of King John.[3]

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[1] Close Rolls, 4 Hen. III., m. 11; Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. III., m. 6.
[2] Close Rolls, 4 Hen. III., m. 9.
[3] Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. III., m. 5.

The next time that we have any record history of this forest is in connection with the terrible gale that disastrously affected almost the whole of England towards the end of the year 1222. It was the incidental cause of furnishing the longest list extant, of an early date, of the royal forests. The windfall was so considerable, that the Crown issued orders suspending the usual custom that prevailed as to fallen boughs or uprooted trees, and commanding the forest officials at once to draw up careful valuations of their worth. Letters to this effect were despatched, as we know from the Patent Rolls, *inter alia*, to the verderers and foresters of fee of the Yorkshire forest *inter Usam et Derewentem*. At the same time Brian de Insula, the warden, keeper, and chief forester of the two forests of Galtres and Ouse and Derwent, received like orders.

On January 30, 1223, the king appointed four special commissioners, Robert de Percy, William de Ard, Henry de Ferlinton, and Hugh de Uppeshall, to act with the elected verderers of the forests of Ouse and Derwent and Galtres, in selling the whole of the great amount of windfall resulting from the storm. Adam of York was nominated by the Crown to act as their clerk. All the money resulting from such sales was to be placed, together with a roll of particulars, in the custody of some religious house within their bailiwick, until further orders. The chest containing the money was to be sealed with the seal of the Sheriff of Yorkshire, in addition to the seals of the commissioners.[1]

In order to obtain yet further particulars as to the result of the great storm, the king, in the following month, ordered the sheriffs, in conjunction with the foresters and verderers of the various counties, to appoint regarders to hold a general view or formal regard of their respective forests. But in the case of Yorkshire and four other counties, it was

[1] Patent Rolls, 7 Hen. III., m. 6*d*.

ordered that an eyre, or court of forest pleas, should be at once held by the chief justice of the forests.[1]

Shortly after this, Hugh de Nevill was appointed to the wardenship of both this forest and that of its neighbour of Galtres. In April 1224, Hugh was ordered to allow Robert de Ros to take six harts in Ouse and Derwent forest as a royal gift.[2] In July of the same year the king gave Richard de Percy six oaks out of this forest, together with six out of Galtres, for house-building purposes. At the same time, a mandate was issued to Hugh de Nevill ordering that these oaks were to be provided without delay, and further providing that if any of Richard de Percy's knights who held woods in these forests desired to supply him with timber out of such woods, no impediment was to be offered to the felling of such timber, nor was any cheminage or way-leave to be demanded for its transit through the forest.[3]

In the following September royal letters were sent to the foresters of Ouse and Derwent, to the effect that the king was about to send Master Giles, his huntsman, with hounds, to take red deer. At the same time the Sheriff of Yorkshire was ordered to provide Giles with necessaries and expenses for hunting in this forest and in Galtres.[4]

Perambulations of the Yorkshire forests, in accordance with the Forest Charter, were made in 1219, and again in 1224–25, when the evidence as to the date of the afforesting of the Ouse and Derwent wapentake, or parts of it, appear to have been conflicting, and not sufficient to bring about disafforesting.

A further perambulation of the royal forests of Yorkshire was undertaken in the year 1229. The perambulators testified before the king, in October, that the whole of the forests of Galtres, of Ouse and Derwent, and of Farndale were all

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[1] Patent Rolls, 7 Hen. III., m. 5*d*.
[2] Close Rolls, 8 Hen. III., m. 7.
[3] Ibid., 8 Hen. III., pt. ii., m. 10.
[4] Ibid., 8 Hen. III., pt. ii., m. 5.

ancient forests, and they had been deceived in a previous perambulation, when evidence had been given as to certain parts of these forests having been newly afforested. Thereupon the Sheriff of Yorkshire was ordered to make proclamation through the whole of his bailiwick that each of these forests was to be under the like custody that had prevailed in the days of King John.[1]

A forest regard of Ouse and Derwent and Galtres was ordered to be held in the spring of 1232. But on May 8, Brian de Insula, forest justice, was ordered to see that no regard was at present to be made in the lands and fees of the Bishop of Durham, within the forest of Ouse and Derwent, and that all such regard and pleas of the forest pertaining to the bishopric were to be deferred until fifteen days after the ensuing Michaelmas. The dispute that had arisen between the bishop and the Crown as to this regard was adjourned a little later, until the Octave of St. Martin, and subsequently until the Octave of St. Hilary in the following year.[2] Further adjournments deferred the matter at issue to Easter, and finally to Michaelmas 1233.[3]

This long-sustained dispute seems to have been eventually settled by the disafforesting of the whole district. It would appear that the powerful Bishop of Durham pleaded his palatinate rights as freeing him and his tenants from any necessity to appear before any forest courts or to obey any forest regulations.

A palatinate has been well described as "a territory throughout which its proprietor enjoys and exercises certain rights and privileges, commonly called *jura regalia*, as fully and entirely as a sovereign himself does elsewhere within the realm in which such territory is situate." The point, however, in this case, was whether these exceptional rights prevailed on his manors or properties that were outside the Durham diocese.

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[1] Close Rolls, 13 Hen. III., m. 21*d*.
[2] Ibid., 16 Hen. III., ms. 11, 2; 17 Hen. III. m. 16.
[3] Ibid., 17 Hen. III., ms. 13, 8.

Peter de Ryvall, who held so many royal appointments, was the last bailiff of the Ouse and Derwent forest. In February 1234, Peter received a mandate to allow William of York, a justice in eyre, to have eight oaks out of this forest.[1] This was apparently the last royal gift out of these woods.

This wapentake eventually ceased to be under forest law on July 4, 1234. On that date the forest of Ouse and Derwent was formally disafforested by a decree of Henry III., addressed to William, Archbishop of York, Richard, Bishop of Durham, Robert, Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and to the freemen and all others, both cleric and lay, who held lands between the two rivers.[2]

For the privilege of release from forest jurisdiction, the district between the two rivers was called upon to pay the heavy fine of eighty marks. This fine is mentioned in a royal grant of remission, dated September 25, 1234, excusing the nuns of Thicked, in the parish of Wheldrake, from the payment of their share, which amounted to six marks and four shillings.[3]

The clauses of the charter of disafforesting provided, with much elaboration, that all lands and tenements between the Ouse and the Derwent were henceforth to be free from "regard" or formal inspection, from supervision by foresters and verderers, and all such ministers, and from pleas of the forest and of the foresters both of venison and vert. Moreover, all tenants of lands throughout the district were for the future permitted, not only to enclose their woods and wastes, and to make parks, but to clear and till ground, to do as they desired with timber in the way of using, giving, or selling it, and even to take venison without any interference from foresters, verderers, or regarders. Also they were to be permitted to draw timber freely without cheminage or way-leave or

[1] Close Rolls, 18 Hen. III., m. 30.
[2] Ibid. 18 Hen. III., m. 15.
[3] Ibid., m. 6.

any interference. The charter likewise provided for putting an end to all minor forest courts, such as swainmotes, and to the lawing of dogs. The ancient liberties and free customs of the bishopric of Durham, of the archbishopric of York, and the Abbey of St. Mary's, York, were also specially exempted from interference.[1]

An entry in Bishop Kellawe's palatine register (1311–1318), immediately following the transcript of the disafforesting charter, sets forth that previously every vill of this forest had common rights over all the wastes between the two waters, but that "from that time there have been approvements made by all the lords of the vills, both small and great, between the waters of the Ouse and Derwent, from the wastes at their will, and without disturbance, and without asking leave of the lords or of the tenants of the vills near or distant; but that the free tenants, who hold according to the ancient bounds of the vill where the approvement is made, may have share of the approvement according to the quantity of their tenements, because they contributed to the ransom; and because the common is used, and ought to be, as it was before when forest; that is to say, each vill between Sogflet and the bridge of Battle (Stamford Bridge) may common in all seasons in moors and in woods and in unenclosed woods, except in the Haye of Langwathe; and also may common at open times, in fields and in meadows after corn and hay have been carried." The latter part of this Norman-French document is somewhat obscure and doubtful; but it appears to defend fields and meadows against the pasturage of stray beasts, or those unaccompanied by proper herdsmen with horn and staff. Reference is also made to difficulties that had arisen since disafforesting between lords and tenants of vills who had approved all their own wastes, greatly desiring that their neighbours, who had large wastes, should be prevented from

[1] *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls Series), ii. 1183–85.

making approvement, because they wished to common therein. It is stated, however, that the usage of every vill being entitled to make its own approvement as it listed was told and pleaded by twelve sworn men before the justices in eyre, whereupon it was agreed that the usage had been kept up so long that they held it law. This judgment was afterwards confirmed by enrolment at seven of the eyres held at York. Moreover, Sir Roger de Turkelby, who was justice in three eyres throughout England, and also lord of the vill of North Duffield between the waters, did not disturb this usage throughout all his domain.[1]

Escrick Park (Lord Wenlock), which contains some 450 acres of rich pasture lands, fringed with woods, and dotted over with clumps of forest trees, is about the centre of this old royal forest. The woodland area of this estate is about 1700 acres; it is one of the very few parts of the Ouse and Derwent wapentake that has probably remained chiefly woodland since the days of Henry III., when it ceased to be forest.

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[1] *Reg. Pal. Dun.*, ii. 1185–87; iii. 534–35.

YORK AND ITS MINSTER

By the Rev. J. Solloway, D.D.

THE early history of York is involved in much obscurity. Around the old city the ancient chroniclers have cast a wondrous glamour, carrying the mind back, by fable and legend, to men and things contemporary with the early kings of Israel! When David was ruling over the destinies of the Chosen Race, King Ebrauc, these old writers tell us, built the city on the north bank of the Humber, and called it after his own name—Caer Ebrauc; and then they give us a long line of successors to this "man of mighty strength," furnishing occasional narratives of wonderful events which happened before the dawn of Christianity.

These stories, of course, the modern historian rejects as being essentially fabulous, but there is doubtless a substratum of truth underlying them. If, however, the account of Ebraucus and his royal successors must be rejected, there still remains the fact that, when the Romans came to Britain with their conquering legions, they found on the banks of the Humber the town whose history the chroniclers have sought to elucidate by their interesting stories—Caer Ebrauc.

That this was the ancient British name of the northern capital there can be no reasonable doubt. What was the origin of the name, if the old chroniclers' explanation be regarded as untrustworthy, is a matter of uncertainty, various theories having been advanced from time to time. But whatever the source of the name, it seems clear that the Roman conquerors simply latinised that which they

found, calling it Ebraucum, and then for the sake of euphony slightly altering it to Eborācum, or Eburācum. This would certainly seem to be the correct sequence—that Eborācum is the Latin form of the pre-Roman Ebrauc, and not Ebrauc the abbreviated Eboracum.

The recognition of this fact should help to settle the oft-disputed point concerning the pronunciation of the Roman name of the city. For generations antiquaries have been divided as to whether the *a* in Eboracum should be long or short, and to this day it is spoken of sometimes as Ebóracum, and sometimes as Eborácum, though the former seems now to be the generally adopted pronunciation. But, in spite of the general acceptance of the short *a*, the accented penultimate would seem to be more consonant with the origin of the name, as also with the evidence furnished by mediæval metrical writers. Recognising the continental pronunciation of the first English vowel, it is easy to see that Ebraucum would be modified by the Romans to Eborācum and not Ebórăcum, and the hymn addressed to St. William of York evidently preserves the right quantity:—

"Statu causæ reformato
Romam petit iterato
Nullis adversantibus.
Eboracum presul redit
Pontis casus nullum ledit
De tot turbæ millibus."
—*York Missal* (*Surtees Soc.*) ii. 45.

What kind of a city the Celtic Ebrauc was which the Romans found must be left more or less to the imagination. Scarcely nowadays should we dignify it with the name of a town. It would doubtless be one of those *oppida* which, Cæsar tells us, were simply wild woods enclosed with walls and ditches, in which the inhabitants were accustomed to assemble in order to evade the incursions of the enemy (*De Bello Gall.*, v. 21). An irregular collection of primitive dwellings, in a low-lying district well wooded and well watered, the inhabitants clad in animal

skins, and their bodies curiously painted with strange devices, living on the products of the chase or the river—such is the picture of pre-Roman York presented to us by the old writers, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. But, with all its primitiveness, the place was well situated, possessing ample natural means of defence, and connected with the sea by a most useful navigable river; and when the Romans came, they were not slow to see its strategic importance. The miserable town they found was by degrees transformed into a splendid city, with magnificent walls and towers, Roman villas, baths, temples, and palaces, the military portion lying to the north of the river, and the civilian to the south, a glorious city that was not inaptly designated *Altera Roma*. Primitive Ebrauc became glorious Eboracum, the British metropolis of the Romans. In it resided the emperors, or their legates, when staying in the British portion of the vast Empire; here two of them died, Severus and Constantius I., and here Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, was proclaimed.

During the four centuries of the Roman occupation of Britain, York played a distinguished part. Early in that period its geographic value was discovered, and it became the capital town of the north, and probably of the whole island. Its foundation as a Roman city has been ascribed to Agricola, about the year A.D. 79. Up to that time, the imperial headquarters had been at Aldborough, but Agricola soon saw the superiority of the neighbouring town at the junction of the Ouse and Foss, and, from his time to the close of the Roman period in Britain, Eboracum was the imperial capital of the province.

During that period Eboracum was essentially a military centre. A camp was formed there for one legion, at first the Ninth or Spanish Legion, afterwards the Sixth, which was surnamed *Victrix*. This camp, situated on the north side of the river, was, as usual, rectangular in form, and enclosed by a ditch and a stone wall. Its length from north

to south was about 540 yards, its breadth from east to west about 480 yards, the area being about a quarter of a million square yards. At each corner of the rectangle was a tower, one of them, the Multangular Tower, remaining to this day, and forming, with portions of the Roman wall on the east and north, one of the finest examples in the country of Roman fortifications.

But though Eboracum was a great Roman military centre, it would be a mistake to imagine that there was no civilian population. In all directions the city appears to have spread, and an important suburb arose on the south side of the Ouse. Interesting relics of the Roman occupation have been discovered in that quarter from time to time, showing that costly Roman villas, with baths and temples and possibly a Christian church, were erected; and, on the site of the present railway station, numerous discoveries have been made, indicating the existence in that quarter of an important Roman cemetery.

Of the existence of Christianity in York during the Roman occupation there can be no doubt, notwithstanding the paucity of the evidences which have been brought to light during excavations and in other ways. A Roman coffin, evidently containing the remains of a young Christian lady, was discovered in the year 1901. Besides a number of personal ornaments, which had been buried with her, there were also found a glass jug and disc, and these, it has been ingeniously suggested, formed the cruet and paten of the *Viaticum*. Though there was no inscription on the coffin, inside were the fragments of a bone slip, on which was inscribed in incised letters: "AVE . . . O . VIVAS IN DEO." The first letter of the second word was probably the fourth of the word *Soror*, and the discovery of this relic should be of the greatest value to those who seek for evidences of Christianity in Roman Britain.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of this discovery, see *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for* 1901, p. 104, and plate vii. See also the preceding chapter, "Roman Yorkshire," p. 49.

At what date Christianity was first introduced into the city is quite unknown, but the earliest bishop, according to Archbishop Ussher, was Fagan, who was said to have been one of the missionaries sent to Britain by Pope Eleutherius in the second century. Theodosius is also named by tradition as having been a Bishop of York in the same century. His episcopate, however, has been seriously questioned; but certain it is that, at the beginning of the fourth century there was a Bishop of Eboracum, Eborius being one of the three British prelates present at the Council of Arles in A.D. 314: "*Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia.*" Other early bishops of York mentioned by various writers are St. Sampson,[1] Pyrannus, and Thadiocus.

During the Roman period it is quite certain that no Christian church would be built in the city on the north side of the river. That was the military quarter, and a Christian edifice would neither be required nor tolerated in the camp, where the soldiers would be all but universally non-Christian. Nearly all the domestic "finds" in the city have been discovered on the south side of the Ouse, and this fact clearly indicates that a large civilian population resided there, and in that district doubtless the early bishops would have their residence and their church. On the high ground lying between the river and Micklegate, is a district known as *Bishophill*, a name which, it has reasonably been conjectured, was given to it because, probably, it was the district in which the ancient bishops resided.

In that district are three churches, St. Mary's (Bishophill Senior), St. Mary's (Bishophill Junior), and Holy Trinity. Ancient churches are they all, the second containing a considerable amount of Saxon work, and the third being the successor of three other churches formerly occupying the same site. Holy Trinity, originally known as

[1] One of the ancient churches of the city is dedicated to this bishop, that of St. Sampson in Church Street.

Christ Church, had jurisdiction over a considerable area in the southern suburbs of the city and in the district to the west of York, now known as the Ainsty. That it was a church of secular canons in pre-Norman times is certain. Traditionally it stands on the site of a Roman temple, and one of the principal Roman "finds," that of a Roman standard-bearer, was unearthed in the Priory precincts adjoining. It is not improbable, therefore, that this Christ Church, standing as it does right in the heart of the suburb where the Roman citizens resided, is the church of the early bishops of York, their residence being in the district adjoining, known to this day as *Bishophill.*

After the departure of the Romans from Britain, the history of the north, with York as its chief city, is a long series of struggles between the Northumbrians and their numerous foes. Harassed on the one hand by the Picts and Scots, and on the other by the Saxons whom they had called to their aid, the North Britons were in a sad condition, and York suffered considerably during the conflicts. By the middle of the fifth century the Picts and Scots had made themselves masters over the whole country north of the Humber, and York was in their hands. The Northumbrians, in consequence, sent for the Saxons to aid them, and, in a sanguinary conflict near the city of York, the Picts and Scots were worsted, and York was rescued by the Britons. But encouraged by their successes, the Saxons began to form plans for settling in the country, and for a long period the history of the country consists of the account of numerous and keenly contested struggles between the British and the Saxons, York being taken and retaken over and over again. But the Britons were eventually driven out beyond the mountain fastnesses of Wales, and the Saxons became masters of the country.

Of the internecine struggles that took place during the period of the Saxon Heptarchy, it is impossible in the present paper to speak in detail. They were centuries

of bloodshed and change and misery for the country in general, and not least for that part of it of which York was the capital; and when the scenes of devastation and carnage are remembered, it should not be a matter of wonder that so little is left in York to remind us of the history of the Roman and Saxon periods, but that there are any vestiges at all remaining to carry the mind back to those early days in the history of the city.

Several events of that period should be noted, because of their importance in connection with the subsequent history of the city and country. The episcopate of St. Sampson, for instance, should not be passed over in silence. He it was whom King Aurelius summoned to his great Council at York, when he ordered the general restoration of Christian churches, and he himself undertook the rebuilding, according to Drake, of "the metropolitical church at York."[1] Sampson, a native of Glamorganshire, had become a monk, and had been raised to the headship of his monastery, when Aurelius appointed him Bishop of York. He did not hold that office long, however, for he was driven out of the city by the invaders, and fled to Wales, where he became Bishop of St. David's. This see he held until his translation to Brittany, when he was made the Bishop of Dol. Though in Brittany there are numbers of churches, including Dol Cathedral, dedicated to his memory, two in Cornwall, one in Dorsetshire, and one in Saxony, there is only one in the north of England, and that, naturally enough, is in York, where for a time he had been bishop.

The well-known story of Gregory's interview with the British slaves in the market-place at Rome should not be forgotten by those who are interested in York and the vicinity. In the struggles between Deira and Bernicia some of the subjects of Ælla, the King of Deira, whose chief city was at York, were captured and sent as slaves

[1] Which church was this? It could not have been York Minster, which was not begun till a century and a quarter after this time.

to Rome. A number of the children were exposed for sale in the market-place, at the time when Gregory was a young rising ecclesiastic. He was struck with their appearance, and when, in response to his question as to their personality, he was told that they were Angles—"Not Angles," he replied, "but angels." When, further, he was informed that they hailed from Deira—"Then," said Gregory, "from wrath they shall be snatched—*De ira eruti*"; and on being told the name of their king, Ælla, he still saw good omen in the name, or, at all events, he still went on with religious punning, and "Alleluia shall be sung there," was his reply. From what particular part of the kingdom of Deira these children had been captured the story does not relate, but it is more than likely that the slave traders had brought them from York. If so, and the name of their city transpired, it would effectually put an end to even Gregory's punning powers, for *Eoferwic* is not a word that easily lends itself to such a purpose! But this episode is interesting to York and the district of which it was the centre, inasmuch as it furnishes an important link in the chain of events which led to the mission of St. Augustine to this country; and the people of Yorkshire should contemplate with satisfaction the fact that the notice of some of its captive children brought about, not the Christianisation, but the re-Christianisation of England.

The greatest event of the Saxon period was that which took place in York thirty years after the landing of St. Augustine. King Edwin and his Council had embraced Christianity, and, at the Easter Festival in 627, the king and some of his chief subjects were baptized by the bishop, Paulinus, and on the spot where the sacred rite took place a wooden church was erected and dedicated to St. Peter. Soon after, the timber structure was replaced by one of stone, and by various stages during the centuries that followed the building became the magnificent Minster, which stands at the present time the joy and boast of

the city, the county, and the country. Through the period of turmoil and bloodshed that attended the incursions of the Danes, when the Saxon Eoferic became the Danish Yorwik, a continuous succession of bishops and archbishops held the see, numbering amongst them such great ecclesiastics as St. Paulinus, St. Chad, St. John of Beverley, Egbert, and Albert; and when the Saxon line was restored by the defeat of the Danes in the battle of Stamford Bridge, September 25, 1066, Archbishop Aldred was Primate of York; and then came the Norman Conquest, which had such important consequences for the church and city of York, and the British Ebrauc, the Roman Eboracum, the Saxon Eoferic, the Danish Yorwik, was thenceforward known as the English York.[1]

During these centuries of war and invasion, very little authentic information has come to us respecting the exact ecclesiastical condition of York. As we have seen, there sprang up in the city two Houses of Canons—the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, and Christ Church in Micklegate. Besides these, two other religious houses were established —the Hospital of St. Peter in the year A.D. 936, and the Monastery of Galmanho about the middle of the eleventh century. A remarkable fact concerning these four houses is that all of them or their successors still remain, two of them in ruins, and the other two still used for divine service. Whilst the monasteries, which came into existence in later times, have been demolished, some of them not leaving a trace behind them, the Minster is yet with us, the glory of the city and the diocese; and the nave of

[1] In spite of much that has been written on the subject, the modern name of the city would seem to be the direct, lineal, literal descendant of the old British name. Ebrauc became Eborācum; with the Saxons the first vowel became Eo, and the *b*, frequently interchangeable with *f* (*cf.* brother, frater; flos, blossom), became *f*, and so Eborac was Saxonised to Eoferic; then the Danes adopted Yo inside of Eo, and, the *f* disappearing, Eoferic became Yorwik, and so came the modern appellation. The theory that Eoferic and Yorwik were derived from the river Eure or Yore, and *wik*, is unworthy of York's magnificent history. As the city, so its name should be regarded as the direct descendant of old Ebrauc of pre-Roman days.

Holy Trinity, the successor of the yet older Christ Church, is still used, an excellent specimen of transitional Norman work. The ruins of St. Mary's Abbey on the site of the ancient House of Galmanho remain to remind us of its glorious past, and portions of the Hospital of St. Leonard, the successor of St. Peter's Hospital, stand in close proximity to the Benedictine Abbey, whilst parts of the Hospital of St. Peter itself may be seen in the basement of the Theatre Royal.

In addition to these religious houses, parish churches were erected in various parts of the city, and doubtless many of the ancient city churches now standing were built on the foundations of pre-Norman structures. One alone lays claim to pre-Norman origin, as far as the present building is concerned—St. Mary's, Bishophill Junior; but serious doubts have been made to this claim, though the masonry of the tower and the tower windows seem certainly to exhibit pre-Norman features.

With the advent of William of Normandy a new era began for the country and the Church. At the time of the Conquest the chief ecclesiastic in the land was Aldred, the northern primate. He it was who crowned William on December 21, 1066, having previously extracted from him the most solemn pledges that he would preserve inviolate the rights and liberties of the National Church. But within a few years the solemn promises were all broken, only three English prelates being suffered to retain their sees—the northern archbishop and the bishops of Rochester and Worcester; and then, after the death of Archbishop Aldred, the city of York lay in ashes, its Minster with its muniments and its famous library suffering in the conflagration, and the city churches being sacked and burnt.

But on the ruins of the ancient city a more magnificent one arose during the centuries that followed. The cathedral was rebuilt on a more splendid scale, religious houses were founded in various parts of the city and suburbs, stately

mansions were erected, the fortifications of the city were strengthened and enlarged, parish churches and chantry chapels sprang up in great abundance, and the northern capital became a place of which kings and archbishops were justifiably proud, a city which played a most prominent part in the history of the country.

To give the merest outline of the detailed history of the city of post-Conquest days would be quite impossible in these pages, and a few only of the leading features must be noticed. The first of these will be the story of a great controversy, which arose during the early years of the Norman period, and which remained a burning question for several centuries—the dispute concerning the relative positions of the archbishops of York and Canterbury. The southern primate claimed jurisdiction over his brother in the northern province, a claim which was strenuously repudiated by the various archbishops of York.

At the death of the last Saxon Archbishop of York, Thomas of Bayeux was appointed by the Conqueror as his successor in the see. The southern archbishopric was at that time vacant, and there were not enough suffragans in the northern province to perform the ceremony of consecration. Thomas was therefore compelled to wait until the Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed. When Lanfranc succeeded to that office, the Archbishop-elect of York went to him for consecration, and, to his surprise, found that the ceremony was refused, unless he would first make his profession of obedience to Canterbury. This he refused to do, and appealed to the king; but, in spite of the royal command to consecrate unconditionally, Lanfranc delayed, defending his action with much adroitness. As there was only one king, so, argued Lanfranc, there should only be one primate; and he threw out the plausible hint that a northern primate might range himself on the side of any disloyal foreigners, and set up a rival monarch. This argument succeeded, and the king first tried to persuade and afterwards commanded Thomas to

yield. Eventually, but reluctantly, he submitted, professing subjection to Lanfranc only, but not to his successors, and he then received consecration at the hands of Lanfranc.

Later on, Thomas brought the matter before Pope Alexander. The pontiff favoured the claim of Canterbury, though he cautiously referred the subject for discussion in an English synod, and when that synod was held Thomas was defeated: the northern archbishops were to swear allegiance to Canterbury, and to respond to the southern primate's summons to councils.

The matter was renewed, however, when Anselm succeeded to the see of Canterbury. Archbishop Thomas went to consecrate Anselm, but when he asked to be consecrated as Primate of *All England*, Thomas refused. He claimed exemption from obedience to Canterbury, as he had only promised subjection to Lanfranc but not his successors; and so firm was the stand he took that Anselm was eventually consecrated as Metropolitan of Canterbury, and not as Primate of England.

The question was again to the fore when Gerard succeeded Archbishop Thomas at York. Anselm now demanded Gerard's profession, but Gerard declined to submit; and when Gerard asked Anselm for letters to the Pope to aid him in his petition for the pall, Anselm promised on the condition only that he would make his profession either immediately or on his return from Rome. Evasively Gerard replied that he would do *what was right* when he returned. Repeatedly the dispute was renewed between these two archbishops, but the question remained as far from settlement as ever. And so the matter went on during the episcopates of succeeding archbishops, each archbishop forbidding the other to carry his cross erect in the other's province, the northern archbishop insisting upon equality of jurisdiction, the southern archbishop claiming the primacy of the whole country, first one appearing to gain the advantage and then the other, the dispute being sometimes attended with humiliating episodes, until the time of

Archbishop Thoresby of York, when the burning question was finally and amicably settled. This settlement was effected at a meeting of the two primates in Westminster Palace on April 20, 1352, when it was decided—

(1) That each archbishop was to be allowed to carry his cross erect in the other's province.

(2) That each Archbishop of York, within two months after his election, was to send a knight, or a doctor of laws, to offer in his name, at the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, an image of gold of the value of £40, in the form of an archbishop holding a cross, or some other ornament.

(3) That in Parliament and at councils the southern archbishop was to sit at the king's right hand with cross erect, the northern primate being on the left.

(4) That in an open street the two archiepiscopal cross-bearers were to walk abreast, but in a gateway, or narrow passage, the cross of Canterbury was to have precedence; and

(5) That the Archbishop of York was to be styled Primate of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of *All* England.

And so ended the controversy which, for centuries, had been the prolific source of angry dispute and painful recrimination. It was a happy termination of a bitter struggle for supremacy, and it seems to have been the only kind of solution possible at the time. But it was a virtual defeat for the northern primate, who throughout the dispute had never sought for supremacy, but only for equality.

During the centuries that this dispute was being carried on, it must not be imagined that ecclesiastical matters in the city were at a standstill. The great cathedral was being gradually evolved, and through rebuildings, renovations, and additions, during many episcopates, it eventually

attained to the condition of wondrous perfection which it possessed toward the end of the fifteenth century. Early in the Norman period Archbishop Thomas I. set about the renovation of the Minster, which, during the general conflagration of the Conqueror's time, had suffered terribly. In Archbishop Walter Gray's day (1215–1255), the south transept was built, and to this day it remains unsurpassed as an example of Early English architecture in the perfection of the style. The chapter-house followed (1280–1340), and toward the end of the thirteenth century, Archbishop Romanus began the present nave, as his father before him, who was the Treasurer of York, had built the north transept (1250–1270). For some years the erection of the nave went on, being completed by Archbishop Melton (1317–1340), with its magnificent decorated west window, which has been described as the finest Gothic window in the world. A little later the Lady Chapel was built, during the episcopate of Archbishop Thoresby (1352–1373), and then the old Transitional choir gave place to the present one. Half a century later (1433–1450) the south-western tower was erected in the days of Archbishop Kempe, and during the same episcopate the north-western tower was begun, being finished during the days of his successor. The great central tower followed about 1460–1472, and then came the last item of pre-Reformation work, the erection of the rood screen, now used as the organ screen, in 1476–1518. Since those days nothing further has been done in the shape of building beyond ordinary repairs and ornamentation, and the rebuildings after the disastrous fires of 1829 and 1840.

The plan of the Minster as it exists at present is cruciform, its west front flanked by towers, the great lantern rising in all its grandeur at the crossing, the choir having eastern transepts, and the glorious octagonal chapter-house lying to the north of the choir. Some conception of the massiveness of the building may be gathered when it is stated that its extreme external length is $524\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and that the external measurement at the transepts is

THE WEST FRONT OF YORK MINSTER IN 1809.

249 ft. The height of the central tower is 216 ft., and that of the western towers 202 ft. The height of the nave is 99½ ft., of the transepts 99 ft., and of the choir 102 ft., while the chapter-house is 63 ft. in diameter and 67 ft. high.

A glorious composition is the west front, having been deservedly described as more architecturally perfect than that of any other English cathedral, notwithstanding Ruskin's criticism of the flanking towers as "confectioners' gothic." The great west doorway is exceedingly fine, the details of its mouldings being well worth careful study. The majority of the sculptures formerly adorning the numerous niches are gone, but in the pediment is still to be seen the figure of Archbishop William de Melton holding the model of a church, an appropriate historical reminder that it was he who completed this part of the building.

The Early English front of the south transept is also a splendid specimen of that period of architecture, and as it is viewed from the south end of Stonegate, the beauty of this style of building is realised, with its lancets, its tiers of arcading, its ornaments, and the magnificent wheel window, measuring about 27 ft. in diameter. From this point of view the massiveness of the whole structure from east to west can be realised; an unrivalled specimen of an English cathedral evolved during the passage of many centuries.

Internally the Minster defies adequate verbal description, and only a few of the leading details can be noticed. Standing under the great Lantern Tower and looking west, the beautiful west window is one of the first things that rivet the attention. It belongs to the decorated period, but has more than a *soupçon* of the flamboyant style in its tracery. It consists of eight lights, with exquisite tracery above, measuring 54 ft. in height, a little over 25 ft. in breadth, and contains 958 superficial feet of stained glass. This glass was the gift of Archbishop Melton, the subjects consisting of three tiers of figures. The lowest tier represents eight of the holders of the archiepiscopal see;

the middle one depicts eight saints, among whom are St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, and St. Katherine; the upper series are pictures of smaller figures in groups.

Turning round we get a view of the great east window, one of the marvels of the cathedral, wondrous not only for its size and its beauty, but also of great interest because of its origin. The stone work belongs to the rectilinear period, the stained glass to the opening years of the fifteenth century. John Thornton of Coventry was the glazier, who, on December 10, 1405, entered into a covenant with the dean and chapter to portray the said window with his own hand, including the "histories, images, and other things to be painted." He was also to paint the same, to provide glass, lead, and workmen, at the expense of the chapter, and he himself was to receive from the dean and chapter for every week wherein he worked in his art during the three years, four shillings, and each year of the same three years five pounds sterling, and after the work was completed ten pounds for his reward. Thornton evidently finished the undertaking in the specified time, for at the head of the tracery appear his initials with the date "I. T. 1408." The glass remains after all these years practically the same as it left his hands, the largest and one of the most beautiful windows in the world. The subjects have been frequently described and need not be repeated here. In brief, and in general, the upper portion represents scenes taken from the book of Genesis, the lower, scenes from the Apocalypse.

Looking north from under the lantern is to be seen the famous "Five Sisters' Window" at the end of the north transept. It consists of five lancets, 54 ft. in height, above which is a smaller tier diminishing in height on each side from the centre. The lancets are divided by groups of detached shafts with a passage behind them, the shafts with their bands, bases, and capitals being Early English, while the lancets contain in great part the original Early English stained glass. This window is not only one

of the finest in the Minster but in the world, and no one who has seen and studied it will be surprised at the story of the famous general who, when asked to mention what in all his travels had most impressed him, exclaimed, "The Five Sisters of York Minster."

It is obviously impossible even to attempt to describe in these pages the three-quarters of an acre of stained glass, which, it has been computed, the Minster contains, most of it of great beauty, and some of surpassing loveliness. The St. William's window in the north choir transept contains, in addition to the glass of the tracery, 105 compartments, depicting the various scenes in the life of York's saint; whilst that in the opposite south choir transept contains eighty-five panels representing episodes in the history of St. Cuthbert. In all parts of the sacred edifice are the most delightful examples of the glassmaker's art, in nave, transepts, choir, and chapter-house. Aisle and clerestory, expansive window and narrow lancet, rose and vesica, all furnish precious specimens of the most harmonious blending of rich colouring, and nowhere can the lover of mediæval glass find a richer field for the study of his art than here.

The nave, transepts, and choir are all double-aisled, and all of the style of the period in which they were built, a triforium and clerestory running round the whole of the edifice. The nave consists of eight bays, the choir of nine, and each transept of four. The transepts are unrivalled specimens of Early English work, the nave is Decorated, the tower and choir Perpendicular. Under the choir, which is separated from the nave by a stone screen, is the crypt, the oldest portion of the Minster, containing a considerable amount of Norman masonry, while the octagonal chapter-house belongs to the Decorated period, as also does the vestibule leading to it, though some portions of the walls are of the Perpendicular style. Leading out from the south choir-aisle are the Chapel of Archbishop Zouche, the vicar's vestry, and the treasury,

or, as it is sometimes called, the consistory, all of Perpendicular date; and abutting on the south transept, in the angle between its western wall and that of the nave, is the archiepiscopal registry.

In the vestry are treasured numerous relics connected with the history of the Minster. One of the most interesting is the celebrated Horn of Ulphus, which was given to the cathedral by the Danish prince in 1036, as a guarantee of the donation of a number of his lands. To keep his sons, it is said, from quarrelling with each other over their respective shares, he took the horn, filled with wine, to the altar of the cathedral church and there dedicated to God and St. Peter his various demesnes, offering the horn as the pledge of his gift, and

> "Holy Church was warden of his land
> To guard and fend it from unhallowed hand."

The relic bears the inscription recording the story of Ulf's donation. "Cornu hoc Ulphus in occidentali parte Deiræ princeps una cum omnibus terris et redditibus suis olim donavit. Amissum vel abreptum Henricus Dom. Fairfax demum restituit. Dec. et Capit. de novo ornavit A.D. MDCLXXV."

Another of the treasures here stored is the Indulgence Cup or Mazer of Archbishop Scrope. It is of dark brown wood, and is decorated with a band of silver round the upper rim, along which is incised an inscription of the greatest interest to all who are acquainted with the tragic end of the Primate in 1405: "✠ Recharde arche beschope scrope grantis on to all tho that drinkis of this cope xl^ti^ dayis to pardun Robart Gybsun Beschope mosin grantis in same forme afore saide xl^ti^ dayis to pardun. Robart Strensall."[1]

[1] "Beschope mosin" was Richard Messing, a Carmelite, titular Bishop of Dromore, and Suffragan to the Archbishop of York. He died at York, where he was buried. Other mazer bowls with indulgences attached to them are occasionally mentioned. On January 25, 1393-94, Martin Elys, minor canon of St. Paul's, London, bequeathed to his brethren the minor

The history of the fabric having been given in outline and the Minster briefly described as to-day it exists, a short account must now be added of the constitution of the cathedral body. Before the Conquest it consisted of seven canons with an abbas as their head; but in the days of the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux (1070–1100), a remodelling of the constitution was effected. A dean was made the head, three other major dignitaries were appointed—a chancellor, a treasurer, and a precentor —and a number of prebends were created. In the thirteenth century the chapter consisted of forty-six members, whilst at the Reformation the number of canons was thirty-four. At that time two of the prebends, Bramham and Salton, fell into the hands of the king, and two others, Bishop Wilton and Masham, were suppressed, leaving thirty canonries, which exist at the present time.

The cathedral body now consists of the archbishop, who is not a member of the chapter, though "major in ecclesia," the dean, precentor, chancellor, sub-dean, succentor of the canons, thirty canons, together with the vicars' succentor, and his four fellow vicars-choral. From the prebendaries four are chosen by the archbishop as residentiaries, who in turn occupy the house in the cathedral close called the "Residence." In the same close, opposite the chapter-house, is the Deanery, and just outside the close is the Treasurer's House, a fine old mansion, which in recent years has been restored.

Connected with the Minster in mediæval times were several collegiate bodies: (1) there was the college of vicars-choral, thirty-six in number, presided over by their *custos*, who was the vicars' succentor. They had

canons in their common hall a "mazer with silver cover called Pardoncuppe" (*Calendar of Wills, Court of Husting*, ii. 305). Another is mentioned in the will (1506–7) of Robert Plumpton of York (*Test. Ebor.*, iv. 259). Robert Gybsun and Robert Strensall were, no doubt, the notaries who attested the grants of Archbishop Scrope and his suffragan respectively. A mazer was one of the necessaries for a novice in a religious house (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., vii. p. 384). For a full account of the Scrope mazer see *Archæologia*, vol. 50.

their residence in the Bedern, were a corporate body, held lands, advowsons, and other properties, and were responsible, as their name implies, for the musical portions of the Minster services. Nothing remains of their residence but a part of the refectory, their chapel also being left, and the gateway leading to the Bedern. (2) The chantry priests formed a body corporate at St. William's College, which, after some centuries of change and decay, is now being restored for church use. Their head was called the provost, and from time to time their numbers varied according to the number of chantries existing in the cathedral at the altars of which they served, assisting also in other ways in connection with the various religious services and functions at the cathedral. (3) The Collegiate Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, otherwise known as "Sepulchres Chapel," originally consisted of twelve prebendaries, over whom was a head called the sacrist. Later on the number of prebendaries was increased to eighteen. The chapel, which was founded by Archbishop Roger, abutted on the Minster, with which it was connected by a doorway in the second bay of the north aisle. This doorway, though built up, may still be seen. The chapel stretched across the present close in the direction of the Residence. (4) The College of the Hundred Priests was founded by King Richard III. It was begun but never completed, the scheme coming to an end owing to the death of the royal founder, who perished at Bosworth.

In early times the Cathedral of York was noted for its library, which was the envy of all Europe, and became the model on which the celebrated library of Tours was fashioned. The precious "flowers of Britain," as Alcuin called the volumes at York, perished, however, at the great Conquest conflagration. But during the centuries that have passed since then, a new library has sprung up, which in our own day is placed in the old chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, formerly existing across the Minster Close, a small portion of an arcading of the palace

still remaining. The library contains a large collection of valuable volumes, manuscripts, old office-books, seals, and curiosities; whilst in the archbishop's registry are the unbroken records of the various occupants of the see from the time of Archbishop Walter Gray. In the Probate Registry are copies of testamentary documents in countless numbers, dating from the fourteenth century, and in the Chapter Clerk's Office are the valuable volumes known as Torre's manuscript.

In spite of fire, change, war, and vicissitudes of all kinds, the Minster still stands, with its precious possessions, the most beautiful and massive of English cathedrals. It may have been shorn of some of its mediæval glamour and splendour, many of its niches are without the figures that once filled them, much of its former ornamentation may be missing, and its famous shrine of St. William be a thing of the past; but for dignity, massiveness, grandeur, it stands, taken as a whole, unrivalled, and still remains what for centuries it has been—the pride and glory of the great shire of broad acres.

While all this work was going on at the Minster, great ecclesiastical activity was being manifested in all parts of the city and its suburbs. Old churches were rebuilt and new ones erected until, in the reign of Henry V., no less than forty-one parish churches are named in the list of those which were taxed under that monarch for carrying on the war with France. As early as the year 1137, an old chronicler tells of forty churches, besides the Minster, having suffered in a great fire. How many of these had been rebuilt by the time of Henry V. records do not show; and it is a remarkable fact that the dates of so few of the existing churches in York can be fixed by documentary evidence. But there is little doubt that most of the city's ancient churches have been built on older foundations, and it were futile to hazard any guess as to which should have the premier position as far as the dates are concerned.

Most of the parish churches exhibit varieties of architectural style, but it is only by the study of their architecture that the dates of the buildings and their various parts can be approximately fixed. As has been already stated, the only one that lays claim to pre-Norman masonry is the church of St. Mary, Bishophill the Younger. Generally speaking, the different periods of architecture may be indicated as follows:—

Norman.—(1) The tower of old St. Lawrence; (2) the porch of St. Denys; (3) the porch of St. Margaret's; (4) windows (inserted), portions of central piers, and west tower, Holy Trinity, Micklegate.

Transitional.—(1) Nave arcade and piers at Holy Trinity, Micklegate; (2) nave arcade and piers at St. Michael's, Spurriergate; (3) south doorway at St. Mary's, Bishophill Senior.

Early English.—(1) All Saints, North Street, south doorway and piers; (2) Holy Trinity, Micklegate, north doorway and west front with tower lancets; (3) St. Helen's, Stonegate, east windows in aisles.

Decorated.—(1) St. Helen's, Stonegate; (2) St. Sampson's; (3) All Saints, North Street; (4) St. Denys; (5) Christ Church, King's Court.

Perpendicular.—(1) St. Martin's, Coney Street; (2) All Saints, Pavement; (3) St. Crux (*destroyed*); (4) St. Michael-le-Belfrey; (5) St. Olave's; (6) St. Sampson's; (7) St. Saviour's; (8) St. Cuthbert's; (9) St. Denys; (10) St. Helen's, Stonegate; (11) Holy Trinity, Goodramgate; (12) Christ Church, King's Court; (13) St. John's; (14) St. Mary's, Castlegate (spire).

From this list it will be seen that the student of English architecture has a rich field before him in connection with the city churches. Every period is represented, in some cases a single church affording illustrations of nearly all the styles. Rich, however, though the city is in the possession of its ancient buildings, many of its sacred edifices have been lost. In the first year of Edward VI. an Act

was passed declaring many of the churches superfluous, and authorising their demolition, the parishes so deprived being united to some neighbouring parish. In consequence, some of the buildings were destroyed forthwith, though the enactment was not fully carried out until the year 1585, when the archbishop, represented by his ordinary, the Lord Mayor, and six aldermen met, under the statute, and resolved that the number of parishes should be reduced to twenty-three. Seventeen parishes were therefore amalgamated with others, and their churches demolished. In the most ruthless fashion this destructive measure was carried out, and sixteen out of the seventeen churches were rased to the ground, leaving not a trace behind them. The one allowed to remain was the Church of St. Andrew which was united to St. Saviour's. It still stands, but it is in a sad condition, being at the present time used as a storage for furniture, its chancel having been converted into a cottage.

But though so much has been lost to the city, it is still rich in the possession of many of those Houses of God which adorned the northern capital in mediæval days, most of them having been built or rebuilt during the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, concurrently with the gradual evolution of the great Minster, and during the centuries when the acrimonious dispute between the two English archbishops was seeking for settlement.

But whilst York in mediæval days was essentially a city of churches, with its unrivalled cathedral church as the centre and inspiration of them all, it is equally true that it became the home of northern monasticism. The capital town of the great county which could boast of such an array of religious houses as no other county possessed, it drew to its fortified enclosures a vast number of monks and friars, until eventually representatives of nearly every monastic order which obtained a footing in the country found a home in the city or its suburbs.

Prior to the Conquest, as we have seen, four religious houses had existed in the city. No sooner were the

turbulent days of the Conquest over, than monasticism received a great impetus in the north, encouraged and patronised by prelates, monarchs, and noblemen. The Benedictines led the way, the magnificent Abbey of St. Mary being founded on the site of the old pre-Conquest house of Galmanho in 1087. Two years later, Holy Trinity Priory was re-established on the site of the old canon's house in Micklegate, being converted into an alien priory under the great Abbey of Marmoutier near Tours. Shortly after this, Fishergate Priory was founded as a cell of Whitby Abbey, and about the year 1130, a House of Benedictine Nuns was established at Clementhorpe, a hamlet lying just outside the southern walls of the city. During the reign of Stephen, two great hospitals came into being —that of St. Leonard, on the site and in the place of the pre-Conquest hospital of St. Peter, and that of St. Nicholas, a hospital for lepers, outside Walmgate Bar. Before the year 1161, an important collegiate establishment was founded in connection with the Minster by Archbishop Roger, and about the same time, certainly before 1179, the chantry chapel of St. James on the Mount was established as an appendage of Holy Trinity Priory. In 1202 the representatives of the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham found a home in the Priory of St. Andrew in Fishergate, and a little later, *ante* 1228, the Dominican priory on Toft Green was erected. About the same time, 1232, the military orders commenced their work at York, a chapel of the Knights Templars being built near the castle. Before 1252 another collegiate house arose, the Bedern College, which was the home of the thirty-six vicars-choral of York Minster, who received their charter of incorporation in the year 1421. The Carmelites followed, a little before 1255, their home being founded in the district now known as Hungate, on the right bank of the Foss; and almost concurrently, *ante* 1268, the Franciscan priory was established on the left bank of the Ouse, just below Ouse Bridge. The Friars of the Sac

came to the city, *ante* 1274, but the site of their dwelling is quite unknown; and about the same time, *ante* 1278, the Austin Friars began their career on the left bank of the river, just below Lendal Bridge. The Crutched Friars were the last of the mendicant orders to attempt a settlement in the city, *circa* 1310, their temporary residence being somewhere in the neighbourhood of Monk Bar. In 1371 Trinity Hospital was founded in Fossgate; *ante* 1391 St. Thomas's Hospital near Micklegate Bar arose; before 1435 St. Anthony's Hospital sprang into existence; and in 1453 St. William's College was founded for the Minster chantry priests. And, during all these years and those which followed, through the liberality of various individuals, a great number of smaller hospitals, Maisons Dieu, chantry and free chapels, and hermitages were established, until eventually no less than sixty-nine religious houses were known to have been founded in various parts of the city and its vicinity.

With such a magnificent collection of religious houses, together with its forty-one parochial churches, and the great cathedral overshadowing them all, York in the Middle Ages must indeed have been regarded as a great ecclesiastical centre, and there can be no wonder that it was a city of which its primates were proud and in which kings and queens were pleased occasionally to dwell.

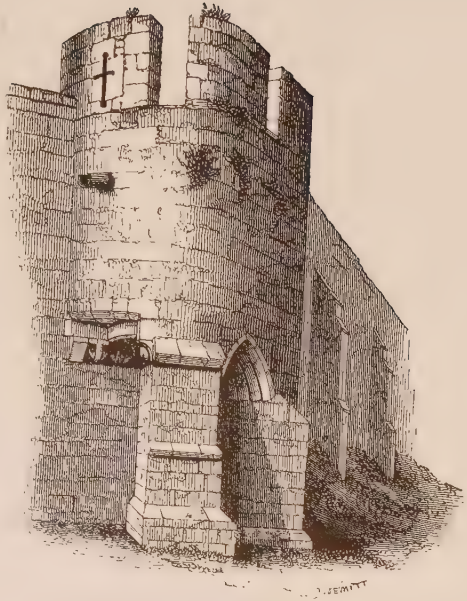
A great proportion of this article has been devoted to the ecclesiasticism of York, and from what has been said it is quite evident that from such an aspect the northern capital must ever be viewed in any attempt at furnishing an account of the historic city. But such a review would be very inadequate if other aspects were neglected. It can never be forgotten that Eboracum, in its inception, was not ecclesiastical but military. When the Romans made it their headquarters in Britain, religious matters did not, of course, enter into their calculations. It was its strategic importance that occurred to them, and through the whole period of the Roman occupation the military value of the

city was its chief distinction. Its civil and ecclesiastical importance came afterwards. And, as has already been pointed out, during the centuries that followed, when the Normans had left Britain, York played a prominent part in the military struggles of Saxon and Danish times. Nor was this aspect lost sight of in the days that followed the Norman Conquest. During the conflicts with Scotland, in the Wars of the Roses, in the great Civil War of the seventeenth century, and in the disturbances connected with the Jacobite Rebellion, York was always regarded as an important centre, and terrible scenes of carnage have been witnessed in and around the old city. Naturally, therefore, during a long period covering eighteen or nineteen centuries, great attention has been paid to the defences of the city. Happily those old fortifications are no longer needed for their original purpose, but they remain with us to-day in pretty much the same condition as our Plantagenet predecessors left them, reminding the citizens of siege and battle, of assault and defence, connected with some of the most thrilling episodes in the history of the nation.

The story of these defensive works has been elaborately told in a recent publication written by one of the citizens of York,[1] and it would be quite out of place in these pages to attempt even the briefest summary of what has been so admirably said in that work. York has, indeed, lost many of its old treasures, through carelessness, vandalism, and natural decay, but its citizens, as indeed all Englishmen, have cause for unbounded gratitude that, in spite of open and insidious attempts at demolition, its ancient means of defence have been spared to them ; and it should be regarded by them as a responsibility and privilege to hand them on, in an equally good state of preservation, to those who shall come after.

The four great Bars—Micklegate, Bootham, Monk, and

[1] *York: the Story of its Walls and Castles.* By T. P. Cooper (1904).



Tower near Layerthorpe Bridge.

Old House in Newgate.

(*The upper part was destroyed by fire about forty years ago.*)

Walmgate—are priceless treasures such as no other English town can boast; one of them, the last mentioned, retaining its mediæval barbican. The walls, with one slight break, still encircle the city, with their towers, turrets, posterns, chambers, and promenade. Of the old moat one splendid stretch still remains, near Lord Mayor's Walk. Considerable portions of the historic castle are yet standing, crowned by the hoary Clifford's Tower, the scene of the grim tragedy connected with the massacre of the Jews in Richard the First's day; and the hillock on which formerly stood the second castle, that of Baile Hill, is carefully preserved and ornamented with trees and shrubs. The Multangular Tower and portions of the old Roman Wall are also left, carrying the mind back to the days of sixteen centuries ago. And altogether, despite the ravages of time and the hand of the despoiler, the city is the proud possessor of the finest examples of mediæval and Roman fortifications remaining in the country.

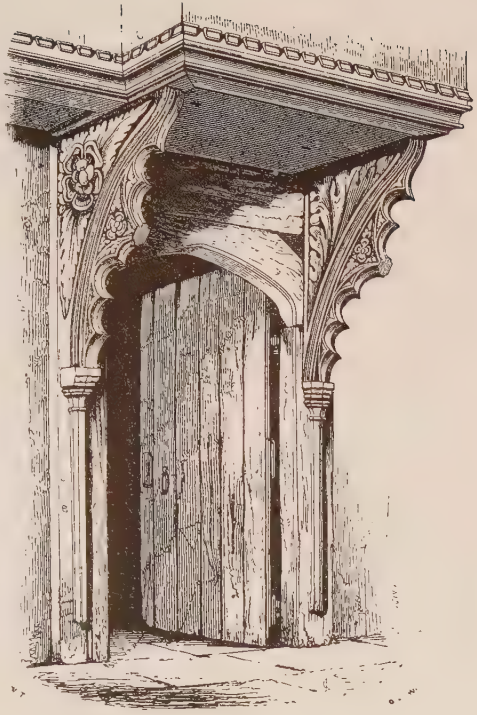
It would have been strange if a city possessing so many advantages—ecclesiastical, historic, military, defensive—had not become a favourite place of residence during the Middle Ages. Many of the sovereigns had their temporary dwellings in the city, sometimes holding high festival there; Parliaments from time to time assembled within its walls; gorgeous ecclesiastical pageants were celebrated in the Minster, the monastic churches, and in connection with the various city guilds. Then there were ample means of protection during the stormy days of war. The city was a home of learning and piety. Great prelates and scholars had their homes in it; and naturally, in various parts of the city, capacious mansions sprang up where the gentry and nobility resided. The Percy family had their palace in the Walmgate district, and some of them were buried in the neighbouring churches; the archbishop's palace was erected near the Minster, a small fragment and the old chapel still remaining; and in the city and suburbs were established stately dwellings of those of the nobility

who, though their usual abode was elsewhere, kept also their city house.

A wonderful place indeed must the city have been in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with its Minster and its churches, its monasteries and guilds, its palaces and mansions, its castles and its walls, its ecclesiastics and military. The glory of ancient Eboracum had indeed passed away, but a city equally beautiful, though beautiful in a different way, had sprung up on the site, and it is beyond the power of a twentieth-century citizen to realise the magnificence on which his forefathers were accustomed to gaze.

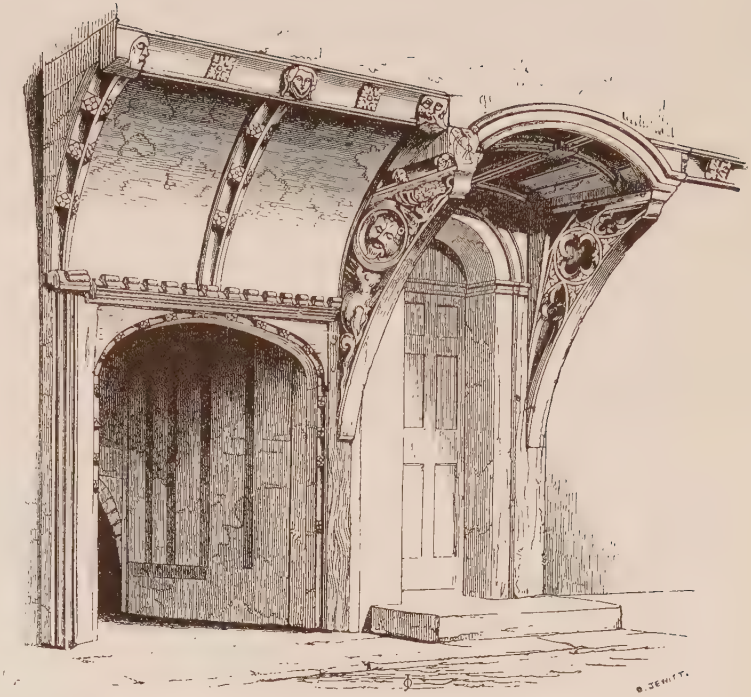
BRACKET TO DOORWAY IN PAVEMENT, NOW DESTROYED.

With the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century a tremendous change came over the city. The fine monastic buildings were dismantled and their inmates scattered; numbers of parochial churches were deemed superfluous and were demolished; those that were spared were in many cases stripped of all internal beauty, and handed over to the annual beautifier. And with these drastic changes came others. Commercialism and utilitarianism began to make themselves felt, and fine houses, quaint streets, and historic buildings had to give place to others less beautiful, though more profitable. Many of the mediæval houses of York have disappeared within



Door formerly in Jubbergate.

(*Another almost identical is at "Jacob's Well," Trinity Lane.*)



Doors formerly in the Pavement.

living memory, with their beautiful carved wooden doorways. Some illustrations, published about sixty years ago, of certain of these are reproduced in these pages. All of them are things of the past. The last to go disappeared in 1906 to make an opening for a new road. The marvel is, not that so little of mediæval York is left, but that there are any remnants at all to remind the inhabitants of their city's glorious past.

Bygone York has had wonderful possibilities. It once possessed, as we have seen, such a library as was the envy of all Europe, and the leading scholar of the day, one of its own sons, Alcuin, was called away from the city by Charlemagne to become the great educational light of the continent. Why, with all its advantages, the city did not become a great educational, as well as a great ecclesiastical centre, with its schools, its colleges, and university, is a mystery. What the future may have in store none can tell. Though robbed of much of its mediæval splendour, it still remains a city in many respects without a rival. It retains its Minster, its fortifications, many of its ancient churches, its quaint streets and gables. The King's Manor House, St. Anthony's Hospital, and Trinity Hall are yet in existence. Some of its churches have been renovated and made more worthy of their past history. Fine old houses, that seemed almost past redemption, are being restored to their former beauty. St. William's College is just undergoing a worthy reparation, and is to be the future home of the Northern Convocation. On the whole, the day of the despoiler seems to be drawing to its close, and the northern capital may again become, under wise rulers, the centre of light and learning, a worthy successor of that city of which Alcuin wrote:—

> "Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam
> Fundavit primo, comites sociosque laborum
> Indigenas tantum gentes adhibendo Britannas.
> Ut foret emporium terræ commune marisque;
> Et fieret ducibus secura potentia regni
> Et decus Imperii, terrorque hostilibus armis."

THE VILLAGE CHURCHES OF YORKSHIRE

By A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A.

HORACE WALPOLE, on one of his visits to Wentworth Castle, discovered that Yorkshire afforded remarkable "quarries for working in Gothic." He said this in transport at the sight of a ruined abbey; and it is possible that, beside these more splendid memorials of the past, the parish churches, in which he and his friends paid a polite attention on Sundays to the forms of religious worship sanctioned by the State, interested him but little. The church furniture of the eighteenth century, with all its individual virtues of workmanship, effectually concealed the history of the fabrics which it occupied, and the traces of that element of romance, so dear to Walpole's heart, which he found in deserted and roofless abbey churches. The movement which he helped to inaugurate, with its neat edifices in the Gothic taste, its shallow imitations of Gothic detail, and its disregard of mediæval principles of planning, was far more actively destructive than the established taste of his own age; and the series of indiscriminate restorations, intelligent and otherwise, which followed the revival of scholarly interest in Gothic art, cannot be said to have brought back to our churches the grace and beauty of mediæval design and ornament, although it has given us the opportunity of appreciating the extent of our loss. But, in spite of these changes which the revolution of time has brought about, the parish churches of Yorkshire are still a most valuable "quarry for working in Gothic." Less attractive, as a whole, than

the churches of Lincolnshire or Northamptonshire, East Anglia or Somerset, they provide a greater variety of material for working out the evolution of the mediæval church plan than any of those districts. In one respect, in the possession of Norman remains and in the number of churches which retain their Norman plan unaltered or with very slight modification, Yorkshire is almost without a rival among English counties. And although, in later years, no exclusively local type of church architecture was developed in the county as a whole; although its fashions in building, as is natural in so wide an area, diversified by so many varieties of geological formation, rather assimilated themselves to the fashions of neighbouring districts than to one central type—nevertheless, very few parts of the county are without their own interesting peculiarities of plan and detail. In addition to this, Yorkshire contains a series of churches which afford complete examples, with hardly any admixture of the work of other periods, of the development of mediæval architecture through its various stages, and thus form invaluable landmarks to the student of this branch of history.

With regard to the geographical distribution of the churches, it is natural that those parts of the county which are least touched by modern commerce should furnish us with the largest percentage of old buildings. The East Riding, thickly studded with agricultural villages, is in this respect the richest district, and no part is without its interest. The North Riding, although it contains no rivals of the splendid churches which, in all the ripe beauty of Gothic art at its highest stage of development, are the cynosure of the low-lying plains and straggling little towns of Howdenshire and Holderness, is in interest little behind the East Riding. Its great manufacturing town, Middlesbrough, has been an intruder rather than a destroyer. But before the development of the iron industry the churches of Cleveland had undergone drastic

alteration. The eighteenth-century builders of that district have left handsome examples of their work in the churches of Kirkleatham and Yarm. At Yarm, however, enough of the mediæval building remains to indicate the extent of the transformation; but the smaller churches which lie between the Tees and the northern fringe of the moors, round Stokesley and Guisbrough, have suffered changes for which no excuse can be found on the ground of beauty. The walls of small Norman churches were pared down, faced with uniform blocks of ashlar, and pierced with window-openings of the plainest domestic type. The interior of the church derived, it is true, the advantage of additional light, but all traces of its antiquity were obscured in the endeavour to secure the effect of a plain, bright rectangle, filled with high pews, and crowned by a flat plaster ceiling. At Thornaby the chancel was taken down; at Liverton, above Loftus, the magnificent chancel-arch was carefully plastered up. Towards the turn of the century the taste for picturesqueness in architecture continued the destructive work on somewhat different lines. The little Norman church of Wilton, for example, was adapted in a pseudo-Swiss taste to suit its pretty background of rock and wooded hill. In spite of this, the Cleveland churches have more to show than their general appearance promises. The rage for transformation extended into Allertonshire, towards the south-west; but, in the neighbourhood of Northallerton, its traces begin to be less evident, although, not many years ago, they were to be seen in the parish church of Northallerton before its handsome restoration.[1] The broken country at the foot of the moors behind Northallerton and Thirsk introduces us to a district of the greatest interest. Nineteenth-century rebuilding, which is very conspicuous in the flatter part of the Vale of York, has

[1] The old chancel had been replaced by a mean and inadequate projection without beauty, while nave and aisles had been combined beneath one barn-like roof.

extended to some of the little churches in this hill district;[1] but, as we round the south-west corner of the Hambleton Hills, no church is without some feature that is worth examination. The features of this district reach their climax in the neighbourhood of Helmsley, Pickering, and Malton. Malton, within easy reach, on the one hand, of the moors, and, on the other, of the East Riding wolds, is the best centre in Yorkshire for the study of these churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in many of which the simple aisleless plan remains almost intact. West of Malton, the wapentake of Bulmer, and its remote northern portion, the forest of Galtres, contains a number of curious buildings, among which the church of Sheriff Hutton is the chief.

York itself is excluded from our survey; but the little churches of the Ainsty are an attractive group, and the churches of Skelton, Nun Monkton, and Kirk Hammerton, north and north-west of the city, are of the greatest architectural importance. The line of the Roman road from the Ouse to the Tees crosses the Ure at Boroughbridge into the western districts of the North Riding; and here, at the foot of Wensleydale, Swaledale, and Teesdale, are a series of beautiful churches, which, in their size and their richness of Gothic detail, offer a striking contrast to the small Norman fabrics which fringe the moors on the opposite side of the Riding. Higher up the dales, the large parish churches of Grinton and Wensley call for special notice; and Wensley and the rebuilt church of the enormous parish of Aysgarth contain woodwork which, though not originally their own, is the finest work of the kind left in Yorkshire. But the little parochial chapels of these wild and thinly inhabited valleys, where they have not been rebuilt, as at Hardraw, are featureless buildings whose chief attraction, like that of the village churches of North and Central Wales, is their rudeness and quaintness. The even wilder hill-country of the West

[1] *e.g.* Cowesby and Kirby Knowle.

Riding, south and west of Aysgarth and Hawes, shares the characteristics of the churches of Swaledale and Wensleydale. The large parish churches of Burnsall, Kirkby Malham, and Bolton by Bowland, the last on the edge of Lancashire, are to Wharfedale, Airedale, and Ribblesdale what Wensley is to Wensleydale, and Grinton to Swaledale. The chapels of Coniston and Hubberholme give Upper Wharfedale a special interest of its own. The foot of the West Riding dales, on the other hand, has less to show than the corresponding country in the North Riding. Nidderdale from Pateley Bridge to Knaresborough, and the neighbourhood of Ripon, abound in small modern churches, a few of which are interesting as examples of modern Gothic work at its costliest. In Lower Wharfedale, with two or three good churches between Bolton Priory and Collingham Bridge, we meet the first signs of the great industrial district which absorbs the lower portion of Airedale. The surroundings of Leeds and Bradford are hardly an ideal district for the ecclesiologist, although the church of Adel and some of the more rural churches of Skyrack wapentake relieve the prevailing sterility. In the wapentakes of Morley and Agbrigg, the valleys of the Calder and the Colne, whose area corresponds to the modern see of Wakefield, the conditions of the northern dales are repeated amid changed circumstances. Immense parishes like Halifax and Almondbury, or Burnley and Rochdale on the other side of the Pennine watershed, which in the Middle Ages embraced great tracts of bare moorland and almost uninhabited valley, keep their mother-churches, although in some cases rebuilt or restored out of knowledge: the daughter-chapels have in most instances been enlarged or totally rebuilt,[1] and have become in turn the mother-churches of a crowd of new ecclesiastical districts, which are still submitting to a constant process of sub-division. In the diocese of Wakefield, out of some two

[1] Thus the "White Chapel" at Cleckheaton, originally in Birstall parish, has been twice rebuilt, in 1706 and 1831, and twice restored in the last thirty-one years.

hundred parish and district churches, only some twenty-five are ancient fabrics; and the majority of these lie in the hill-country south of Wakefield and west of Barnsley. East of Penistone, which is the extreme point of this district, matters improve; and the neighbourhood of Sheffield contains a relatively large number of interesting buildings, some of them, like Ecclesfield or Darfield, among the most imposing parish churches in Yorkshire. Farther east, the more rural parts of the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, north and south of the deep valley of the Don, are fertile in mediæval churches of all periods, usually small and rather plain, but breaking out here and there into spaciousness of plan and richness of ornament. The noble churches of Fishlake and Hatfield are the great adornments of the flat and dreary edge of this wapentake east of Doncaster, and ally themselves rather to the churches of Howdenshire than to those of the hilly districts to the west. Between Doncaster and Selby to the north, and Pontefract to the north-west, the utmost variety of plan and style prevails. In a single day's walk from Doncaster to Pontefract, allowing for a slightly circuitous route, the churches of Arksey, Owston, Burghwallis, Campsall, Womersley, and Darrington, provide an epitome of mediæval church architecture and a lesson in the variety and elasticity of the mediæval church-plan. South of Selby, Birkin, Brayton, and the large church of Snaith present the same variety. At Selby itself, we have the great churches of Hemingbrough and Howden to the east; to the north, the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, with its beautiful churches of Skipwith, Riccall, and Stillingfleet, encroaches, with the windings of the Ouse, upon the boundary of the West Riding; while, finally, to the west, crowning the ridge between the lower valleys of the Wharfe and the Aire, the church of Sherburn-in-Elmet claims for the Barkston Ash wapentake a pre-eminence little, if at all, lower than Hedon and Patrington claim for Holderness, or Howden and Tickhill for the divisions of the county to which they lend their names.

For the simplest type of plan we naturally go to the

earliest churches. The norm of the pre-Conquest plan, so far as the smaller churches of Northern England are concerned, is supplied by the church of Escomb in county Durham—an aisleless rectangular nave, long in proportion to its breadth, separated by a chancel-arch, narrow at Escomb, but with a tendency to widen as time advances, from a small rectangular chancel, which approximates on plan to a square. No existing fabric in Yorkshire, at any rate above ground, can lay claim to the recognised antiquity of Escomb. A great number of North Riding churches contain, built up in their walls, fragments of stonework which in many cases may belong to the age of St. Wilfrid, and bear witness to its artistic activity; but the fact that such stones have been used in this way offers strong presumptive evidence against the early date of the buildings in which they are employed. Several churches, again, contain inscriptions of Saxon origin.[1] Three of these, all on sundials, record the erection of a building. In one case, at Aldbrough, in Mid Holderness, the present church is a large aisled building, with no trace of a Saxon fabric. At Weaverthorpe, in the Wolds, the church is, beyond doubt, of early Norman date, without any indication of a structure of the period, the middle of the tenth century, to which the inscription is supposed to point. But at Kirkdale, between Helmsley and Kirby Moorside, the famous inscription recording the rebuilding of St. Gregory's Minster by Orm the son of Gamal in the days of King Eadward and Earl Tosti,[2] agrees so well with the

[1] NORTH RIDING: Old Byland, Great Edstone, Hackness, Kirkdale, Wensley. EAST RIDING: Aldbrough, Weaverthorpe. WEST RIDING: Bingley, Collingham.

[2] + ORM GAMAL SVNA BOHTE SCS GREGORIVS MINSTER ÐONNE HIT ꝼES ÆL TO BROCAN 7 TO FALAN 7 HE HIT LET MACANNE ꝼAN FROM GRVNDE XPC 7 SCS GREGORIVS IN EADꝼARD DAGVM CNG 7 N TOSTI DAGVM EORL ✠ The sundial in the centre is inscribed: + ꝼIS IS DAGES SOLMERCA + ÆT ILCVM TIDE. Below the sundial are the names of the carvers, continued from the dedication inscription ✠ 7 HAꝼARÐ ME ꝼROHTE 7 BRAND PRS.

architectural details of the church, that we may safely conclude that the nave, at any rate, of the present church of St. Gregory belongs to Orm's foundation. However, the inscription also limits the date of the fabric to a few years before the Conquest, so that it is one of the latest survivals of distinctively Saxon art in the north of England.

A north aisle was added to the nave at Kirkdale towards the end of the twelfth century. The same thing has happened in the two other Yorkshire churches which still retain obvious traces of their aisleless Saxon plan. At Kirby Hill, close to the Roman road, where, having crossed the Ure at Boroughbridge, it enters the North Riding, is a rebuilt north aisle, the arcade of which was cut through the early wall about the middle of the twelfth century. A small portion of the original wall has been left untouched at the west end;[1] and the whole south wall remains practically without alteration, with the exception that the entrance on that side was widened and reconstructed during the twelfth century. The chancel is a mediæval rebuilding on a larger scale of the Saxon chancel, and has a north chapel, which, though much altered, seems to have been originally of the same date as the north aisle. One feature which this church shares in common with the earliest English stone churches, is the re-use of Roman material in the structure, perhaps pillaged from the neighbouring ruins of Isurium. The lowest quoin-stone, for example, on the south-west angle of the tower, has a classical moulding round its face; it measures 3 ft. 3 ins. long, by 1 ft. 10 ins. broad, and is 1 ft. 7 ins. thick. In all probability it has been originally an altar or a memorial slab. Built into the walls, again, are several fragments of Saxon sculpture, as at Kirkdale, pointing to a comparatively late period of Saxon building. Enough of the Saxon south

[1] The north side of the tower has been engaged within the north aisle, and the fragment of wall with its quoin-stones adjoins it. The tower has not been pierced towards the aisle. Exactly the same thing may be seen on either side of the engaged and unpierced early tower at Winterton in Lincolnshire.

doorway remains to tell us something of its appearance and dimensions; and, inside the doorway, the disposition of some roughly cut voussoirs above the present arch seems to hint that the Saxon doorway, whose beautiful eastern impost-block and springing-stones remain on the outer face, took the place of an earlier and plainer entrance.

Little more than nine miles south of Kirby Hill, on the opposite side of the Roman road and on the north bank of the Nidd, is Kirk Hammerton, where not only the nave but the chancel also retain their original dimensions, and, with few alterations, their original masonry. Early in the thirteenth century, at latest, the high north wall was pierced by a very lofty arcade of two bays. The north aisle then added, after passing through various changes, finally disappeared in 1891, when a new nave, chancel, and north aisle were added to the Saxon fabric. This now, with its western tower, forms the south aisle and chapel of the new church. The plan is thus of the simplest character, and the structure appears to be all of one date. The masonry in the lowest courses of the south wall of the nave is composed of extremely large blocks of stone, which, however, bear no obvious indications of the Roman tooling which the situation of the church might lead us to expect. That the present fabric is of late Saxon origin seems probable from the recessing of the chancel-arch. This is very roughly done, by means of an amateur expedient, which seems to suggest that the masons were acquainted with Norman methods, but were without skill to apply their knowledge perfectly. The arch is of two unmoulded orders, springing from impost-blocks, which are divided to match them, and form, as it were, the abaci to similarly divided blocks below. The upper and lower blocks have their corners chamfered off in the rudest fashion; the jambs below them, of half-octagon section, are divided for part of the way down, but the jamb of the inner order gradually recedes into that of the outer until both unite. To put it more accurately, the jamb of the inner order is corbelled out from the main jamb in the most

KIRK HAMMERTON CHURCH FROM N.E.
(Before the addition of the new Nave and North Aisle.)

elementary fashion. If the principle of harmony between the jamb and the orders of the arch is understood better here than in most surviving examples of early recessing, nowhere is it manifested so artlessly.[1]

Another sign of the late Saxon date of such buildings as Kirk Hammerton and Kirby Hill is the presence on the ground-plan of a western tower which in neither case can be proved to have arisen on the walls of an earlier fore-building. The tower at Kirby Hill has been largely rebuilt. That of Kirk Hammerton is a good example of what is commonly called the Lincolnshire type, from its frequency in certain parts of Lincolnshire, but occurs here and there in other districts of England. In Yorkshire there are several examples of this kind of tower, with its unbuttressed angles, its offset between each stage, its unmoulded arch with plain impost-blocks towards the church, its traces of a western doorway, and its double belfry-windows, with mid-wall shafts and through-stone imposts. At Bardsey, between Wetherby and Leeds, is the only Yorkshire example of a tower which appears to have had a substructure in the form of a regular porch, like those earlier substructures on which the towers of Monkwearmouth, Corbridge, Brixworth, and other churches were added. Although in Yorkshire the early towers are much more widely scattered than in Lincolnshire, where they occur in relatively large clusters, some of them have an interest of detail which separates them from their Lincolnshire kindred.[2] No attempt is made, so far as the present writer has noticed, to give the mid-wall

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[1] The original chancel-arch, now merely the tower-arch, of Broughton, near Brigg, in Lincolnshire, figured by Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. ii. p. 213, should be compared and contrasted with Kirk Hammerton.

[2] Some Yorkshire towers, for which, or part of which, a Saxon origin has been claimed by antiquaries, are as follows:—YORK: St. Mary Bishophill Junior. NORTH RIDING: Appleton-le-Street, *Hornby*, Hovingham, Kirby Hill, Kirkdale, *Masham*, Middleton (near Pickering), *Newton-on-Ouse*, *Sheriff Hutton*, Stonegrave, *Terrington*. EAST RIDING: *Market Weighton*, Skipwith, *Weaverthorpe*, Wharram-le-Street. WEST RIDING: *Hooton Pagnell*, *Leathley*, *Ledsham*, *Maltby*, Monk Fryston, *Little Ouseburn*, *Stainton* (near Tickhill).

shaft a carved capital. But the fine tower of Appleton-le-Street has the unique feature of a middle as well as an upper stage with the double belfry-opening. At Hovingham, four or five miles west of Appleton, the tower has indubitable signs of lateness—rubble coring here and there in the jambs of the tower-arch, a herring-bone course in the wall above, fragments of early crosses and a handsome piece of sculpture, which can hardly be of the earliest date,[1] built into the outer walls of the structure, and a western doorway which looks as if it were an early Norman insertion; but the mid-wall shafts are mere rough monoliths, hardly shaped to suit their position, and in the south wall of the tower is a narrow window with an outer as well as an inner splay, a feature which none of the Lincolnshire towers of similar date possesses.[2] At Hovingham, too, there is a feature which is rare in Lincolnshire, a doorway-like opening, now blocked, on the north side of the east wall above the tower-arch.[3] The use of these openings is still a debated question, and cannot be touched on here. It may be noted, however, that the existence of an oblong wall-recess, with roughly dressed shafts on each side and a horizontal roll-moulding along the head, on the first floor of the tower at Skipwith, has been cited as part of the evidence for the use of these towers as habitations for one of the church officials, or as places of refuge in case of emergency. The top stage of Skipwith tower was altered in the course of the fifteenth century; but all the original window-openings in the lower stages have a double splay, and the arch into the nave, though much broader than the majority of tower-arches of its type, is encircled with a band of strip work, an unquestionably

[1] Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in his recent article on "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding" (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, part 75), attributes this "lintel, altar-front, or reredos," with its eight figures in arcaded panels, to the "full development of Anglian art" in the eighth century.

[2] It is found in the lower and earlier part of the tower at Barton-on-Humber, but not in the upper stage, which belongs to the period and type now under discussion.

[3] Broughton and Winterton (much restored) are Lincolnshire examples; there are one or two others, but not more.

Appleton-le-Street Church, from N.E.

Saxon feature, which is shared by none of the eastern openings of the Lincolnshire towers.[1] Strip-work round an opening is found again in the north doorway at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, which has fortunately been preserved amid the enlargements of later centuries.

It is not impossible that, in the Yorkshire western tower of the eleventh century, we may see an important element in the transition from Saxon to Norman methods of building. The data for this transition, in our present state of knowledge, are inconsiderable. The exact date of such work as the recessing of the arch at Kirk Hammerton is impossible to discover. It may have been the work of English masons after the Conquest. On the other hand, Norman work may have found English disciples before the Conquest; after the Conquest, the earliest Norman work in Yorkshire, like that in the crypt at Lastingham, shows a skill and refinement which are an exact antithesis to the clumsy experiment of the Kirk Hammerton mason, working far nearer the local centres of civilisation. It is much more likely that we must look to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and to the influx of foreigners and foreign fashions into the country, for the first stumbling encounters of our native artists with that new type of Romanesque which, before the end of the century, at Durham and York and Lincoln, was to win its chief triumphs in England. The Saxon western tower once established as a type in Yorkshire exercised its influence for years. Distinct from towers with the characteristic mid-wall openings and their invariable features, there are some twelve or thirteen towers, which in their proportions and some of their details, have been claimed as Saxon.[2] Hornby, for instance, between the Swale and Ure valleys, has a tower with the double belfry opening and the mid-wall shaft; but the large, regular cushion-capital of the

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[1] It occurs beside the jambs of the west arch of the crossing at Stow, finished up above the ground level, as at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, by rectangular and semi-cylindrical corbels.

[2] These have been italicised in note 2, page 115.

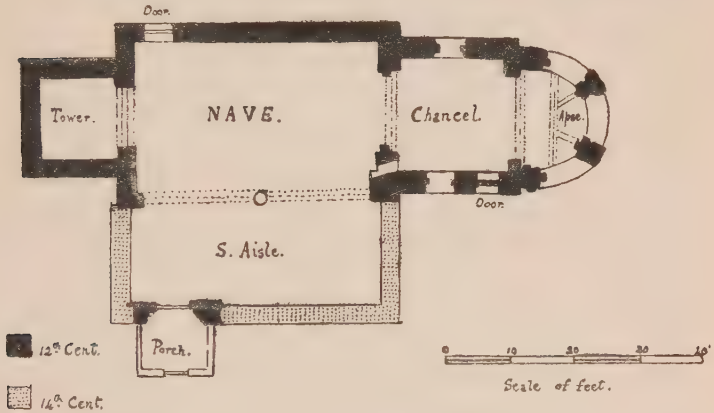
shaft at once betrays a post-Saxon origin. In other towers such as the very spacious tower at Hooton Pagnell, or the tall and slender tower of Weaverthorpe, fabrics which are, no doubt, Norman in origin ally themselves by gauntness and plainness of detail to the towers of the more definite and rather earlier type. The traveller from Doncaster to York may be excused, if, glancing from the train window at the towers of Brayton and Riccall,[1] he labels them in his mind as Saxon. Belonging to the later part of the twelfth century, they are faithful in general outline to the type of a hundred years before.

The Norman remains in Yorkshire are embarrassing in their multitude. In dealing with them, the most convenient method is to select examples according to their plan. We take first the rarest, the aisleless plan with an apsidal eastern termination. Examples of this are very few indeed. Lately, the foundations of an extremely small and narrow apse were discovered beneath the chancel floor of a Cleveland church, Ingleby Greenhow. The apse at Feliskirk, near Thirsk, had been destroyed in the later Middle Ages; but enough was left to make its reconstruction possible a few years ago. Here and at the famous church of Lastingham, where the upper building is probably later than the early Norman crypt below, the nave has been transformed by the addition of north and south aisles at the beginning of the succeeding period. The best example of the apse-plan, however, is the church of Birkin, on the north bank of the Aire, between Selby and Pontefract. A late Norman structure, probably built between 1150 and 1160, its north nave-wall, the lower portion of its western tower, its apsidal chancel, and the rectangular presbytery-space between apse and nave, remain perfect. A broad south aisle was added in the fourteenth century; but the Norman south doorway,

[1] An interesting point in connection with the tower of Riccall is its eastern arch to the nave, which is divided by a central octagonal column into two pointed arches. This looks like an afterthought, taken to provide against a settlement, probably about fifty years after the building of the tower.

Birkin Church, the Chancel and Apse.

one of the most beautiful examples of its class in Yorkshire, was removed from the old to the new wall, and forms the principal entrance to the church. The Norman masonry, composed of large oblong blocks, is beautifully dressed and finely jointed. The apse has a ribbed vault, and a semi-circular arch with rich, but not over-rich, ornament divides it from the presbytery, which another similar but somewhat richer arch divides from the nave. Outside, the push of the ribs of the apse-vault is met by plain pilaster buttresses of bold projection; the arches of the three windows of the



SKETCH-PLAN OF BIRKIN CHURCH.

apse are moulded, and the mouldings studded at intervals with medallions. The sill of the east window has been cut down, and tracery has been inserted; but otherwise this beautiful apse is one of the most perfect specimens of its type in England.

By far the most common Norman plan is that which is directly derived from the rectangular Saxon plan. The nave is broader and, in many cases, longer; the chancel is more spacious in proportion to the nave, and, although approximately square as a rule, is yet sometimes long and rather narrow, as is the case at Moor Monkton in the Ainsty. A western tower is an optional part of the plan;

and, where it occurs, its proportions are by no means fixed, but vary between the heavy and broad type, which is perhaps most common in the western parts of the county, and the slender type recalling the proportions of the earlier towers. The fine and perfect church of Adel is content with a western bell-cote. Instances in which the plan can be clearly traced, even beneath an accumulation of later additions, are numerous. The tower-arch at Appleton-le-Street, which, in early Norman times, may have taken the place of a Saxon predecessor, opens into an aisled church with thirteenth-century arcades. In the late Gothic church of Bubwith, the broad, semicircular chancel-arch, with its heavy roll-mouldings, and an adjacent piece of wall, remind us of the nucleus round which the present structure grew. The south doorway, the tower-arch, and the chancel-arch at Brayton, are the evidence from which we can reconstruct, within the aisled church of later years, a smaller church hardly less beautiful than its near neighbour at Birkin.[1]

But a large number of these aisleless plans have survived with little, if any, later addition. The fame of Adel, as of Lastingham, is too wide to make anything more than a mention of it necessary here. The eighteenth-century rebuilders of the Cleveland churches have been mentioned already. Fortunately, they seem to have been content to do their work on the original foundations, even if here and there they did away with a chancel. Thus it is probable that, in Cleveland, a considerable number of churches and parochial chapels, whose appearance is at first sight most unpromising, keep their plan of the twelfth and even of the eleventh century. Kirk Levington, near Yarm, which has been almost entirely rebuilt within the last thirty years, is a good example of the larger aisleless Norman church of the district. Hilton, across the Leven, has a

[1] Kirkby Wiske, almost wholly of the fourteenth century, has a late Norman south door; and a fragment of the south wall of the early church remains at the west end of the south arcade.

smaller church of exceptional interest. It is towerless, has north and south doorways, a broad chancel-arch, and a spacious chancel, the intention of the builders with regard to which is hard to fathom. The present east wall is not bonded into the adjoining walls, and may be later than the rest of the fabric. Inside the chancel, the lower part of the north and south walls, on either side of the altar, project to a height of about 5¼ feet; the projections are finished off at the top by a chamfered cornice, and are terminated on their west faces by dwarf shafts with cushion-capitals. It is possible that this arrangement was intended to carry a platform for the altar, and so give room for a half-subterranean relic-chamber below; but of such a chamber there is no trace.[1] The chancel, too, may have been planned to extend farther east; but whether with an apsidal or an ordinary rectangular end it is impossible to say. The south door of the church is an interesting specimen of a rough attempt at rich ornamentation. A series of chevrons is cut in the edge of the voussoirs, and an upper row incised in their outward face.

The especial home of the aisleless Norman church is, as has been indicated, the southern slopes of the North Riding moors, the Vale of Pickering, and the East Riding wolds across the Derwent. South Kilvington, close to Thirsk, a quaint little church with a wooden bell-turret, keeps one or two of its early Norman windows, plain, narrow loops with rounded heads and wide inner splays, of which excellent examples may be seen in other parts of the county, in the eastern triplet, for instance, at Askham Bryan in the Ainsty, or in the westernmost windows of the north aisle at Conisbrough. As a rule, the window-openings of Norman churches in Yorkshire are wider, and the inner

[1] North Otterington, near Northallerton, has a ledge at the back of the altar, crossing the whole chancel, which may possibly have been intended for some such purpose. *Cf.* at a later date the broad platform, with a lower chamber, at Tunstead, in East Norfolk.

splay less abrupt. A good twelfth-century church, with a later western tower and a few other alterations, remains at Salton, in Ryedale, near the confluence of the Dove and the Rye. Four miles south of Salton is Barton-le-Street, famous for its rich collection of Norman sculptures. This church, which probably belongs to the third quarter of the twelfth century, was elaborately rebuilt in 1871. The walls were lowered by three feet; a large number of the external corbels, which were much worn by the weather, were ranged along the upper part of the interior walls, and replaced on the outside by a new set; the south doorway was rebuilt in the north wall, and the original north doorway moved outwards to form the entrance of a porch which is a small museum of twelfth-century carved work. In spite of changes for which there was doubtless some excellent reason, Barton-le-Street stands high among Yorkshire churches of the type in question. But a more attractive, though less highly ornamented, example of the aisleless plan lies some miles westward, on the road across the Hambleton Hills from Thirsk to Helmsley. At the top of the precipitous bank above Rievaulx Abbey, looking down on the broad green terrace, with its Italian temples, across the vale, and commanding a wide view of dale and moorland to the north, is the little church of Scawton, founded by the Cistercians of Byland in 1146. The south doorway has chevron ornament; and the nave and chancel are divided by an unmoulded, unrecessed arch, one of several in which Yorkshire builders seem to have preserved Saxon traditions till a very late period.[1] On either side of this arch, the face of the wall is pierced by a low, round-headed opening with chevron ornament, beneath each of which it is probable that a small altar originally stood against

[1] Among chancel-arches of this kind should be noted these:—NORTH RIDING: East Ayton, Birdforth, Dalby, Husthwaite, Marton-on-the-Forest, Scawton. EAST RIDING: Rudston, Skirpenbeck, Speeton. WEST RIDING: Adwick on-Dearne, Nether Poppleton, High Melton, Ryther.

the lower part of the wall.[1] A most curious feature in the chancel, though probably an addition to the original building, is the small stone trough in the north wall, with a drain pierced behind and emptying outside the church. Old Byland, north of Scawton, is substantially the fabric built in the first years of the twelfth century; and Hawnby, in Bilsdale, farther north again, has the aisleless plan and some remains of Norman work.

The Wolds, like the moors, offer the double attraction of delightful country and interesting churches. Most of the Norman buildings in this district have been carefully restored; and this is the case with the two most important examples, Garton and Kirkburn, both within a few miles of Driffield and of each other. Both churches are spacious buildings, wide and lofty, with western towers that are in some part original. The tower at Garton has a fine western doorway, with a figure of St. Michael, the patron saint, conquering Satan, with attendant angels in the wall above. The interior of the church, lit by round-headed windows high up in the wall, was decorated with wall-paintings in the seventies of the last century, and the chancel was much renewed. At Kirkburn the chancel has been rebuilt; the chancel-arch, however, is original. The large nave is without the elaborate decoration which has been applied to the nave at Garton; the original windows are high in the wall, and the insertion of two later window-openings on the south side does little to relieve the severity and gloom of the interior. There can, however, be few more striking views

[1] A famous example of this arrangement is the eleventh-century chancel-arch at Bracebridge, near Lincoln. It has been explained as a survival of the screen-wall with triple openings, traces of which are seen in a few of the earliest Saxon churches. At Avening, Gloucestershire, and at Castle Rising, Norfolk, both with central towers, recesses (blocked at Avening) appear on either side the western tower-arch. Altars clearly stood beneath these, as they still stand on each side of the central opening of some mediæval rood-screens—*e.g.* Ranworth, Norfolk; Patricio, Breconshire; and Oberwesel, in Rhenish Prussia. The recesses may have contained a small re-table (what we now call a reredos), or may have been left open to allow of the undivided view of the chancel which the narrow central arch prohibited.

in an English church than the view of this nave, looking westward from under the modern chancel-screen. In the centre of the nave, opposite the south entrance, is the splendid Norman font, one of a fine series, covered with rich but very rude sculptures, which adds much to the ecclesiological value of the Wold churches.[1] Beyond this, through the tower-arch, an open staircase, worn and narrow, climbs along the south wall of the tower, and turns at right angles to cross the west wall to a door in the north-west angle. The embrasure of the west window is connected by a few steps with the western flight of steps. The effect, though on a much smaller scale and in a more confined space, is as striking as that of the more famous night-stair at Hexham or the chapter-house staircase at Wells; and here the design is all the more remarkable, inasmuch as its surroundings are stern and simple, and it has to depend for its attractions on its own merits of proportion. The exterior of Kirkburn church has the usua pilaster buttresses from eaves to ground, broken only by the string-course beneath the windows; the corbel-table, renewed in places with some inventive skill, may be compared with the remains of the old corbel-table at Barton-le-Street; and, as usual, the builders have expended the best of their ornament on the south doorway, which is now covered by a later porch.

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[1] The most important members of this series, apart from Kirkburn, are at Cottam, Cowlam, and North Grimston. Reighton, near Hunmanby, has another beautiful Norman font. The East Riding contains many examples, some of which have been recently illustrated by the Rev. E. Maule Cole in a paper read at the York meeting of the Lincolnshire and Notts Architectural Society in 1902 (*Associated Societies' Reports*, 1904). Later East Riding fonts are the Transitional fonts at Middleton-on-the-Wolds and North Newbald, the thirteenth-century font at Londesborough, and later Gothic fonts at Hedon, Hull, and Goodmanham (*c.* 1550). The most interesting North Riding fonts, apart from the fine early font at Alne, are the late and very similar black marble fonts at Catterick, South Cowton, and North Kilvington, all of the fifteenth century: there is a beautiful wooden font-cover at Well. A fine Norman font, cylindrical, like Kirkburn and its class, remains at Thorpe Salvin, in the West Riding; and Fishlake has a handsome font of the late fourteenth century. For a list of Yorkshire fonts, see Cox and Harvey, *Eng. Church Furniture*, 1907, pp. 228–31.

Several churches of the same type, hardly inferior to Garton or Kirkburn, lie in or just outside the irregular rectangle between Malton, Pocklington, Driffield, and Scarborough. Weaverthorpe, Sherburn, Kilham, and Nunburnholme, although differing much in proportions, are examples in which an original plan has been kept, although certain insertions and rebuildings have modified the outward appearance of the building, particularly as regards the chancel. Etton, Givendale, Millington, and the rebuilt church of Kilnwick Percy, may also be cited. A later north aisle has been added to the churches, among others, of Fridaythorpe and Thwing, which otherwise are beautiful instances of the type, and to the interesting church of Goodmanham, on a site famous in the annals of Northumbrian Christianity. At Kirby Underdale, the window-heads of the aisleless church have been preserved above the pointed arches of arcades which, in the earlier part of the later half of the twelfth century, were cut through the Norman walls. Seamer, just across the northern boundary of the East Riding, has a small fifteenth-century north aisle, whose builders adhered with greater faithfulness to the Norman elevation. The nave is, like that at Kilham, unusually spacious even in a district where large aisleless naves were not uncommon. The window-openings are wide, and, as usual, high in the wall, and on the outside are separated from one another by pilaster buttresses. In adding the north aisle, the lower part of the wall only was pierced with a very low arcade of four wide bays. The windows above were preserved intact; and so little of the wall was touched that the buttresses descend through the aisle-roof, and are cut away only where the spring of the arches makes their shortening necessary. The chancel of Seamer was treated more drastically, and the arch into the north chapel was allowed to block an original window; but, on the higher level of the chancel, a sufficiently high arch could hardly have been pierced without touching the window-opening. As an instance of conservatism amid

much addition and alteration, the church of Bugthorpe, between the Derwent and the Wolds, may be cited. Here the chancel was rebuilt and greatly heightened in the fourteenth century; but, in front of the new chancel-arch, the old Norman chancel-arch was preserved with curious effect.

Adel is the chief example in the West Riding of the rectangular aisleless plan. In the rural districts of West Yorkshire, churches of this type, as in the Ainsty, are small, and approximate more nearly to those of the North Riding than to the large churches of the Wold district. The pleasant tract of country west of Doncaster supplies the most interesting specimens. Burghwallis church has an unaltered plan, and its south wall is almost wholly composed of masonry laid in herring-bone courses.[1] The north wall also is partly constructed in this way; but the east wall has been entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century of large squared blocks of grey Yorkshire stone. This church, with its plain unbuttressed western tower, is one of those in which the primitive traditions of Saxon building seem to have had some influence on the builders of Norman times; but the proportions of the nave and the abundance and regularity of the herring-bone work, to say nothing of indications that the tower is later than it looks, are against any theory, in our present state of knowledge, of the pre-Norman origin of the fabric. A pre-Conquest origin has sometimes been claimed for the neighbouring church of Hooton Pagnell, where a north aisle was added towards the end of the twelfth century to the nave, and a north chapel, at a not very certain date, to the chancel. The proportions of the original part of the building are

[1] Fragments of herring-bone work remain in the adjacent churches of Campsall and Owston. Bulmer, Hauxwell, and Terrington in the North, and Market Weighton in the East Riding, are further instances of the use of herring-bone work. At Upton in Lincolnshire, near Gainsborough, nearly the whole south wall is built in this economical fashion, recalling the wall at Burghwallis. The proportions at Upton can leave no suspicion that the date of the fabric is anything but Norman.

KIRK HAMMERTON CHURCH, CHANCEL ARCH.

very fine; the massive western tower, which is unbuttressed and relatively tall, is divided from the nave by a round-headed arch of three unmoulded orders, adapted in an unusual manner to unrecessed jambs with chamfered impost-blocks. It is possible that here we have the reverse of the process which we have noticed rudely employed at Kirk Hammerton, and that the mason, probably during the last quarter of the eleventh century, has endeavoured, in a conservative spirit, to combine the recessed arch, whose construction he thoroughly understands, with the plain jambs of an earlier style. He has moulded the single order of his imposing chancel-arch with an edge-roll, has decorated the under-edge of his impost-blocks with a cable ornament, and has inserted in the angles of the jambs shafts with primitive-looking capitals of a bulbous shape, cable neck-mouldings, and bases which, with the cable ornaments above them, are simply a replica of the capitals turned upside down. In his south doorway he has worked with the same apparent idea of compromise; and the whole building, though Mr. Pearson's restoration has introduced some rather incongruous elements, is a very unusual example of an early Norman church in which the traditions of our pre-Conquest architecture have been perpetuated by a mason of no mean skill in design. Two miles to the south, the low chancel-arch of Hickleton, with chevron ornament and nook-shaft capitals that look as if their author had gone to Hooton Pagnell for inspiration, is the Norman nucleus of a church whose outer casing is entirely of the fifteenth century. Farther south again, at High Melton, where there is a later south aisle, the chancel-arch, broad and flat in shape, is without moulding, and springs from plain imposts; it is almost hidden by a very elaborate modern screen.

Crossing the Don at Conisbrough, and ascending the opposite hill, we come to Edlington, a small church of late twelfth-century date, in which there is no trace of Saxon plainness of detail. Here the tower, north aisle, and north

chapel are later than the original building; but the south wall contains a beautiful doorway, and, in the midst of excellent contemporary masonry, a round-headed window of unusual length, with a band of zigzag fringing the entire opening, and an outer covering-arch with small angle-shafts. A Norman corbel-table remains above this window; but the wall has been heightened, and the corbel-table left in its original place. The supporting-shafts of the chancel-arch, instead of coming down to plinths near the floor, stop at half the height of the jambs, the lower parts of which serve as a pedestal for their bases.[1] If the West Riding has fewer aisleless Norman churches to show than the other divisions of the county, it must be owned that, with Adel and the originally aisleless fabrics of Hooton Pagnell and Edlington, it is not behind them in quality. Certainly, no part of Yorkshire is superior to the West Riding in the matter of those splendid doorways, sometimes of from three to six orders, which are, in many cases, the chief relic of a Norman fabric, when all else has been transformed and enlarged. The doorways of Adel, Fishlake, Thorpe Salvin, Birkin, and Brayton have very few equals in the other Ridings. The doorway at Stillingfleet, with its four carved orders and the curious ironwork of its door, is only outside the Riding by the breadth of the Ouse; and the two examples in the Walmgate churches at York are essentially of the same type as the West Riding doorways.[2]

[1] A post-Norman parallel to this may be seen in the much-restored late thirteenth-century chancel-arch at Osmotherley in Allertonshire. There are indications of a Norman arrangement of this kind at Swaton in South Lincolnshire. The nearest parallel to Edlington which the present writer has noticed is at Ston-Easton in Somerset, a few miles north of Shepton Mallet.

[2] The splendid doorway at Alne, in Bulmer wapentake, deserves special mention. Doorways, south unless otherwise specified, not mentioned in the text, are noted in the following list, which is only a selection of striking instances. Italicised names imply that the church contains a chancel-arch of the same period. NORTH RIDING: Alne, Amotherby, Ampleforth (N.), *East Ayton* (N. and S.), *Great Ayton*, Bowes (N. and S.), Old Byland, Cayton, Danby Wiske (with carved tympanum), Forcett, *Hauxwell*, *Helmsley* (much restored), Hovingham, *Husthwaite*, *Kilburn*, Kirkby Hill, Kirkby Wiske, Great Langton (on Swale), Old Malton (W.), Marske (Swaledale), Osmotherley, Oswaldkirk (N.), *Pickhill*, Redmire, *West Rounton*, Over Silton, *Sinnington*,

A third type of Norman plan is the aisleless cross-plan with central tower. Traces of this are to be found in more than one place; but the one example which remains in anything like its original condition is the church of North Newbald, in a valley of the Wolds, four miles south of Market Weighton. This, however, takes its place with Adel, Birkin, Kirkburn, and Lastingham, among the finest Norman churches, not merely in Yorkshire, but in the kingdom. Its plan evidently included apsidal chapels east of the transepts the entrance-arches of which are left, and a chancel which also may have ended in an apse to match the others. Unfortunately, the beautiful termination thus planned was destroyed, apparently in the later part of the fifteenth century. The present chancel is at any rate of that date, and the arches of the transeptal chapels are blocked with walls pierced with Perpendicular window-openings. The west window, also, was inserted at the same time; and it must be owned that the alterations imparted light and cheerfulness to the severe interior, whose plainness is relieved otherwise only by the ornaments of the east and west tower-arches and the chapel-arches of the transepts. The new work, too, was thoroughly good and worthy of the fabric; and, whatever we may think of the wholesale destruction

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Sowerby, Thornton-le-Street, Thornton Steward, Well, Wilton (Cleveland). EAST RIDING: *Aughton*, *Bishop Wilton*, *North Dalton*, Fangfoss, Folkton, *Fridaythorp*, *Goodmanham* (N. and W.), *North Grimston*, Hilston (N. and S.), Hutton Cranswick, Kilham, Kilnwick Percy, *Kirby Underdale*, Londesborough, Millington, Nunburnholme, Riccall, Shipton-Thorpe, *Skirpenbeck*, Thorpe Bassett, *Thwing* (with carved tympanum), *Weaverthorpe*, *Wharram-le-Street*, *Wold Newton* (with carved tympanum). WEST RIDING: *Adwick-on-Dearne*, Adwick-le-Street, Askham Bryan (with outer doorway to porch), *Austerfield*, *Bardsey*, *Bracewell*, Braithwell, Campsall (W.), Conisbrough, Coniston (Wharfedale), Copmanthorpe (W.), Hartshead, *Healaugh*, *Kirk Bramwith*, *Kirkby Malzeard*, Kirkby Wharfe, *Moor Monkton*, Nun Monkton (W.), Upper Poppleton, Rufforth, Saxton, *Thorpe Salvin*, Wadworth. Some Norman chancel-arches, where no south door occurs, are as follows: NORTH RIDING: Appleton Wiske, Dalby, Ellerburn, Hackness, Ingleby Greenhow, Kirby Sigston, Levisham, Liverton, Marton-on-the-Forest, Thornaby, Whitby. EAST RIDING: Bubwith, Burton Agnes, Givendale, Hunmanby, Reighton, Sherburn, Skerne, Speeton. WEST RIDING: Addingham, Kirk Smeaton, High Melton, Nether Poppleton, Rossington, Ryther. These lists might be tripled if a complete list were given. See Mr. Keyser's paper on Norman Doorways in the present volume.

which brought it into being, we need not regret that no restoration, like that at Feliskirk, has been attempted here, where the original material has so thoroughly disappeared. There is a fine late Norman south doorway; and there are three other entrances with less elaborate, but still beautiful ornament, one in the north wall of the nave, and one in each transept. North Newbald is unique in the county as regards the preservation of the structure on the original cruciform plan; but it is probable that churches of later date, such as the cross-churches at Bossall and Acaster Malbis, are rebuildings on Norman foundations; and the fine cruciform church of Filey seems to have been an aisleless cross-church, much enlarged by the addition of aisles during the Transitional period.

The continuity of the aisleless plan, whether rectangular or cruciform, during the whole of the Middle Ages, is especially noticeable, as we might expect, in the small chapels which are to be found in the more remote country districts. For these humble buildings, in which the main necessity is to accommodate a very small congregation, the rectangular plan is obviously the most suitable, and is still the favourite plan in our own day. But occasionally we find aisleless churches of some architectural pretensions built at a later period. The conditions which may have governed the plans of Bossall and Acaster Malbis, each a very beautiful example of its period, have been indicated. Cowthorpe, on the south bank of the Nidd, not far from Wetherby, was built in 1458 without aisles on the rectangular plan; while at Crofton, near Wakefield, is an aisleless cruciform church with a central tower built on an entirely new site about 1430. The famous chapel of South Skirlaugh in Holderness was founded by Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, before his death in 1405. Here the plan is a simple oblong rectangle, without division between nave and chancel, and with a western tower. Its proportions suggest a relationship to the earlier college chapels of Oxford and Winchester or to the handsome aisleless chancels of fourteenth-century

churches, rather than to the traditional plan with nave and chancel. But even in some of the smaller Norman churches we find an approximation to the simple rectangle without division between nave and chancel. There is no trace of any such division in the Norman chapel of Copmanthorpe, near York, which, however, has been much restored; and, close by, at Askham Richard, the ground-plan is a regular rectangle with a chancel-arch so broad that it is little more than a conventional transverse division between the two parts of the church. Here, too, the restorer has been busy, but the arrangement seems to be original. There is no chancel-arch at Askham Bryan, little more than a mile east of Askham Richard, where a large amount of original Norman work remains. Farlington, a late twelfth-century church in the Forest of Galtres, is a further instance where rebuilding has affected the architectural details of the fabric, but does not appear to have modified the original plan. The extra-mural chapel at Bolton Castle is another example where the western part of the building is later than the eastern; in this case it is just possible that, at the rebuilding, chancel and nave may have been thrown into one for the first time.

On the whole, churches to which aisles have been added during the Norman period, or churches which their Norman builders may have planned with aisles, are rather exceptional in Yorkshire. The most noble example, outside great churches like those of Fountains or Kirkstall Abbey, is the nave at Sherburn-in-Elmet. The lower part of the western tower is engaged in the aisles, and opens into them and to the nave by rounded arches of segmental shape, which have three orders merely chamfered, with no other ornament; these arches enclose a cross-vault carried on chamfered diagonal ribs. This tower and the aisles into which it opens were possibly additions of the later twelfth century to an earlier aisleless church. The nave arcades, of four bays each, are lofty and dignified; due, no doubt, to the architectural influence of Durham, which was so powerful throughout the North, and probably reached Sherburn

through the medium of the Norman work at Selby Abbey. Their thick edge-rolls and soffit-rolls, their great cylindrical pillars and sparely ornamented capitals, rounded into cushion form, strongly recall the arcades of a church built under direct inspiration from Durham, the church of Norham-on-Tweed. The western respond of the north arcade has the curved water-leaf foliage with voluted edges which appears as an early sign of Transitional tendencies in English architecture; so that the date of the enlargement of the church must be fixed at any rate after 1160. The south aisle was altered and probably widened in the fifteenth century, when it was continued eastward as a south chapel to the chancel; and, later still, a large chantry-chapel, with its entrance in the east wall of the south porch, was built on to the aisle, blocking up one of its windows, and communicating with it by a very unusual opening, the head of which is of a double wave-shape, divided by a mullion at the bottom of the hollow between the wave-like projections.[1] There are traces of Norman or Transitional masonry at the east end of this aisle. On the other hand, the north aisle has never been widened, although it has been heightened and rebuilt: its original roof-line is visible outside the west end, with an arrangement of blocked window-openings which may point to the possibility that the aisles of the late twelfth century were not additions but rebuildings on a larger scale, and so may account for the discrepancy of detail between the arches of the tower and those of the nave. The north aisle has never been continued in a line with the chancel; and at its east end are the remains of the springing of an apse. Possibly the builders—and here we may once more recognise the example of Durham—intended to complete their plan by an apsidal chancel with flanking apses to the aisles. Whatever their design may have been, it is most

[1] It is worth while adding that two beautiful triangular-shaped cross-heads, with figures of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John, which formed opposite faces of a late Gothic churchyard cross, ruthlessly sawn asunder, are preserved in the north aisle at Sherburn.

probable that they abandoned it; for the chancel which worthily completes this admirable church can hardly have been planned much more than a generation after their work was begun. Combining fairly advanced Gothic detail—the string-course beneath the lancet-windows is scroll-shaped—with the rectangular buttresses which are a sign that Norman methods of construction were not yet discarded, this chancel finds close analogies in the western façades of Darlington and Scarborough churches,[1] which both belong to the latest years of the twelfth or earliest years of the thirteenth century. The three extremely narrow lancet openings in the east wall, splayed inwardly to rere-arches with supporting shafts, are Norman in spirit if Gothic in detail; a parallel instance of a triple east window of Norman date is to be seen at Askham Bryan, where the widely splayed openings of the interior wall are, in the outer, insignificant slits.

Sherburn-in-Elmet is a first-rate instance of the gradual enlargement of the plan of a church, which from the beginning must have been of some importance. Usually, the enlargement begins with the addition of a north aisle.[2] At Conisbrough, the north aisle has a heavy Norman arcade of the earlier part of the twelfth century: the south aisle was not added till the Gothic period had begun to set in; while, last of all, came the remodelling of the chancel. There

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[1] The scroll-shaped string-course is found in the lower part of the unfinished western towers at Scarborough; in its present state, it has been renewed, so that we can only surmise that its early form has been kept.

[2] There are about twenty-five examples in the county of churches to which only a south aisle has been added. Birkin is a conspicuous instance; and there are some examples near Doncaster—Braithwell, Marr, and Stainton. Coverham, Easby, Kirkby Misperton, and Hutton Rudby are the best North Riding examples, and Barmston is a good instance from the East Riding. Carnaby, in the East Riding, originally had a north aisle as well as a south; a north aisle has been added to Langtoft within the last few years. Osmotherley and Winestead are two churches which have a south chancel chapel as well as a south aisle; and the neighbourhood of Doncaster, again, adds to the same category Hooton Roberts, Loversall, and High Melton. On the other hand, about sixty churches have north aisles only, and over twenty more have a north chancel chapel as well. Of these the greater number are in the North Riding.

is a very primitive Norman north arcade at Cayton, near Scarborough. Stonegrave, where both arcades are of late Norman work, seems to have given priority to the north aisle. A very striking example of a plain Norman arcade is the north arcade at Middleton Tyas, between Richmond and Darlington. It is of six bays, which, owing to the relatively small space into which they are crowded, are extremely narrow. The number of columns, however, gives a most imposing effect of length to this side of the nave. The arches are unmoulded, and there are some indications of a change in design, for the western respond is very much larger in diameter than the eastern, and the third entire column from the west end is octagonal, while the rest are circular in section. The capitals are scalloped. There appears to have been a south aisle of the same date; but the present south arcade is of the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and, having only four broad bays to the six narrow bays of the north side, is less imposing and more than a little incongruous.[1]

Appleton-le-Street, near Malton, is a pattern on a small scale of the gradual Gothic enlargement of an aisleless church. The western tower of the earlier building survives, and has been mentioned above as a pre-eminent masterpiece of late Saxon work.[2] After the Conquest, the body of the church may have remained untouched, though the tower-arch seems to have been widened. During the earlier part of the thirteenth century, a very narrow north aisle was added to the nave, a handsome doorway was cut through the north wall of the tower, and the chancel was rebuilt and lengthened. Finally, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the south wall

[1] Among aisled Norman churches, the choir of the nuns' church at Swine, now the parish church, should not be overlooked. Its pointed arches on heavy columns with scalloped capitals, recall, on a small scale, the great arcades of Malmesbury Abbey Church.

[2] It should be noticed that one of the mid-wall shafts, at any rate, has chevron roughly carved on it, perhaps by a later mason. The same thing occurs in the Lincolnshire tower of Harpswell, which, though with some Saxon details, is of early Norman proportions.

of the nave was pierced to communicate with a new aisle twice the width of the earlier north aisle. The dividing column of the north arcade is cylindrical, with a hollow in the base; and the east window of the north aisle, like those of the chancel, is a single lancet. On the other hand, the south arcade has an octagonal dividing column with convex capital- and base-mouldings; while the east window of the south aisle has the forked tracery which was most prevalent between 1280 and 1300. Unfortunately, eighteenth-century churchwardens, to the zeal of whose class the closely adjacent church of Amotherby bears eloquent witness, chose to shorten the beautiful chancel and so rob it of some of its simple impressiveness.

The aisled church has brought us into the Gothic period of architecture. Yorkshire Gothic, as a whole, lacks that consistent elaborateness which distinguishes the Gothic of more southern counties. In no other county did the Cistercian order make such progress. The graceful and fastidious simplicity of detail which marks their work at Fountains, Rievaulx, or Roche—a simplicity which is not without an elaboration of its own—finds its echo in the less carefully studied plainness of the parish churches. It must be owned, however, that the work of the Transitional period in Yorkshire varies immensely in character, and that it is difficult to trace the different influences which take part in it. The general absence of the vaulting-problem from parish churches renders the progress of the Transition superficially one of change in detail rather than in construction; and this progress is by no means uniform in all districts. If, in the arcades of Kirby Underdale and the chancel-arch of Nafferton, the pointed arch adapts itself to the heaviness of Norman construction, the rounded arch, in the north arcade at Hornby or the south arcade at Whorlton, still keeps its place above slender pillars of Gothic character. The unwieldy responds of the tower-arch at Darfield and the chancel-arch at Silkstone are Norman in their massiveness, but have discarded the capitals and bases which we

should naturally expect to find for an attempt at a newer type of work. The churches of the North Riding, and more particularly those of Allertonshire, partake of the character of the Transitional work which went on in the bishopric of Durham during the last years of Bishop Pudsey's reign. Norton-on-Tees and Staindrop, in that bishopric, close to the Yorkshire border, are churches in which lightness of construction is successfully obtained, but the rounded arch, covered no longer with chevron ornament but worked into less ornate and more delicate forms, is still retained. These churches may well have been the prototypes of the lofty north arcades of Brompton, near Northallerton, and Kirby Sigston. Although foliage appears now and then in the capitals of such arcades, it is used very sparingly: in this matter, Cistercian austerity may have had its influence. Unusually rich and beautiful arcades of Transitional character appear in the adjacent churches of Hornby and Patrick Brompton, in the first case with rounded, in the second with pointed arches, and in both cases with very elegant clustered columns, which have square abaci and hollow mouldings in their bases.[1] At Patrick Brompton the water-flower appears on the capitals in two stages of development. But, apart from this, the effort of the builders was, not to invent or copy new forms of ornament, but to refine familiar forms, such as the chevron or the lozenge, to the conditions required by new circumstances. Similarly, the curious and very perplexing north arcade at Ingleby Greenhow, if its grotesque heads and conventional patterns are indeed of this period, is an original, if somewhat inartistic, attempt to strike out a new line in traditional methods of ornamentation. In one instance, the celebrated aisleless church of Nun Monkton, the influence

[1] The middle arch of the three at Hornby is moulded, one half with simple chevron, the other with double chevron, or lozenge, ornament. The Hornby arcade is a north arcade; the south arcade is of early fifteenth-century work, and is clearly coeval with those at Catterick. At Patrick Brompton the north arcade and the eastern arch of the south arcade display the work in question; the eastern arch in the north arcade is much lower than the rest.

of Archbishop Roger's nave at Ripon is plainly visible: in fact, this little chapel of a nunnery is simply a small copy of the larger work. The detail here, with the exception of that of the west doorway, is unequivocally Gothic. The three lancets of the west front, with their banded shafts and lining of dog-tooth; the trefoiled recesses on either side the west door; the trefoils cut in the wall-surfaces between the rere-arches of the windows; the profuse employment of nail-head in the unrestored portion of the interior—all have a richness which gives Nun Monkton an exceptional place of its own among Yorkshire churches. The Transitional character of the work is fully declared by the tentative method by which, while the thick wall is pierced by a continuous passage at the level of the window-openings, as much as possible of the wall is kept beneath the springing of the window-arches, which is carried by dwarf shafts superimposed on the larger shafts of the jambs. Exactly the same expedient is used at Ripon, and, outside Yorkshire, at Hexham, the sister-church of Ripon.

Another monastic church which is become parochial, Old Malton, has a noble Transitional nave and west front: the nave-arches are rounded, with suites of sharp-edged mouldings,[1] and the main ornaments of the interior are the foliated figures cut in the spandrils of the triforium; but the external details of the south-western tower are far more elaborate. Here there is certainly a compromise between the plain structural and rich ornamental detail of Transitional architecture. But, on the whole, Yorkshire work of this period avoids the ornamental side. The chancel of Sherburn-in-Elmet, already described, is an eminent instance of successful design pursued with sobriety of detail; and when, at Riccall or at Edlington, we pass through south

[1] The three western bays of the north arcade are a fifteenth-century rebuilding. About the same time the western lancets were ruthlessly destroyed, and a segmental-headed five-light window inserted between the outer jambs. The upper part of this window was blocked up when the clerestory was taken down in the eighteenth century. The south-western tower is not unlike that of the priory church of Thurgarton, in Nottinghamshire.

doorways set thick with rows of sculptured ornament, and are confronted with early Transitional arcades of a severe plainness, we understand the entire revolution in principle which in this district the introduction of Gothic architecture implied. In the south and west of England, at Glastonbury or Dore Abbey, in lesser churches like Beverstone in Gloucestershire, or Shepton Mallet in Somerset, Gothic detail is simply a new kind of richness taking the place of an old. In the north, it means an abandonment of Norman lavishness for an economy of ornament subordinated to structural needs—an economy, it may be added, in which mere saving of expense had no necessary part.

What has been said of the plainness of Transitional work in Yorkshire applies also, so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned, to the developed Gothic of the first half of the thirteenth century. The greater churches of the county are noble schools of early Gothic art. Its birth may be studied at Ripon and Selby,[1] Byland and Roche: Fountains and Rievaulx, in spite of their sparing use of ornament, show us the art of Gothic design in its perfection, and, out of simple material, create an effect of endless variety; Whitby, Beverley and York, in beauty of design and richness of ornament, are equalled by few of the great churches of England. The choir and transepts of Hedon, a building which, like these monastic and collegiate churches, hardly comes within the scope of our survey, are the chief example of early thirteenth-century architecture among Yorkshire parish churches. Here we can see the type of design which, in its highest type, is exhibited by the transepts of Beverley, combined with the solidity of construction which the architect of Hedon had learned doubtless from the church of Grimsby, across the Humber, and his contemporaries employed, in the southern portion of the diocese of York, at Southwell and Thurgarton.

[1] Selby nave, indeed, may be said without exaggeration to be the finest example in England of the progress from Norman to pure Gothic work. Three or four different stages are represented of the change in construction; and the influence of this change on ornamental detail can be studied and grasped here as in no other single English building.

Richly moulded arches and foliated capitals are the exception in the early Gothic work of the parish churches of the county; where sculptured foliage occurs, as at Leake or Kirby Sigston, in Allertonshire, it belongs, as a rule, to the earliest period of Gothic. For its best manifestation in a church of the second or third class, we have to go to a fairly large town church like Pocklington, where it is seen beneath plainly chamfered arches, and on only one side of the nave. No work of the period could be plainer and less indebted to decorative effect than the south arcade and doorway of another town church, Northallerton. The north arcade at Bedale, which offers an interesting problem as to the actual date of its building, has foliated capitals of great variety, arches whose hollowed edges contain rows of an ornament which is a compromise between the Norman pellet and the Gothic nail-head,[1] and hood-mouldings with an indented ornament, the inner angles of which are so deeply incised that the prominences take the form of half-nail-heads. The whole design, however, with its very acute arches on very slender low pillars, is more curious than beautiful; and it is not unlikely that its vagaries may be the outcome of an attempt to rival in originality the presumably earlier work in the neighbouring church at Patrick Brompton. Nail-head occurs, a little lower down the Swale valley, in the capitals of the south arcade at Ainderby Steeple; but even nail-head, and its immediate derivative, dog-tooth, are by no means usual features in Yorkshire churches of this period. The blocked doorway in the north wall at Easingwold, with an arch of two chamfered orders supported by detached jamb-shafts, is without relief of any kind in the shape of arch-mouldings, foliated sculpture, or dog-tooth. Here and there rich thirteenth-century doorways occur, of which Bossall in the North Riding, Great Driffield and Hessle in the East Riding, and the worn outer archway of the porch at Conisbrough in the West Riding, are striking examples, reminding us that, at

[1] Pellet-ornament with its curved upper surface worked into a point occurs round the lancets of the tower at Old Malton.

Bridlington, Yorkshire possesses what is perhaps the most beautiful thirteenth-century porch in any of the larger churches of England. Bossall has already been mentioned as an aisleless cruciform church of which the fabric belongs almost altogether to this period. But the most complete and most exceptional example of a thirteenth-century church in Yorkshire is the famous little church at Skelton, four miles north of York, where a nave and chancel of equal width, with continuous north and south aisles, are united under one roof, with a bell-cot over the chancel-arch. Built towards the end of the first half of the century, it owes something to the earlier example of Nun Monkton; nail-head, which, at this date, was usually discarded for dog-tooth, appears in the outer and inner string-courses, as at Nun Monkton, and in the capitals of the nave-columns, while dog-tooth is employed in the arches of the east and west windows and in the south doorway. On the whole, the simplicity and restraint of the work are remarkable; and the interior of the building strikes one as far more simple in detail than the interior of Nun Monkton, and clearly subordinates everything else to beauty of design. The whole decorative energy of the artist was expended on the south doorway, which is externally so prominent a feature in the composition that it almost eclipses the little building to which it belongs.

The Yorkshire archetypes of the Decorated work of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are the naves of Bridlington, York, and Beverley, the monastic churches of Guisbrough, Easby, and Selby, the collegiate church of Howden, and the parish churches of Hull, Hedon, and Patrington. The last, even when some of the South Lincolnshire churches are taken into consideration, is probably the most beautiful and nearly the most perfect church of its age in the whole of England; while the earlier work at Howden stands comparison even with that remarkable work of the so-called Geometrical period, the north aisle at Grantham. In the less exceptional parish churches, we find, as

in every county of England, large aisled naves of this date which have no very striking characteristic other than their respectability of proportion. Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, a late example, is a case in point: the main beauty of its arcades is the excellent profile of their capitals; their main curiosity is the stilting of the outer chamfers of their arches. At Alne, not far east of Aldborough, and at Kirkby Wiske, on the other side of Thirsk, very plain arcades, which are probably rather later than those at Aldborough, have their outer chamfers stilted in a more curious manner; the chamfers of one arch intersect with those of the next some way above the springing, and the join is masked by a straight fillet which is prolonged so as to terminate on the abacus of the common capital. The arcades at Darfield, near Barnsley, are another instance of plain late work; here the long south aisle, which is common to nave and chancel, has window-tracery of a type that almost deserves the often misused name of Flamboyant. Of the earlier and purer type of Decorated work, before the great masterpieces of the fourteenth century were achieved, the south aisle at Bedale, and the large north transept, with a western aisle, at Wath-on-Dearne, are the best instances that could be quoted: the design and workmanship of the latter, which probably belongs to the latest years of the thirteenth century, are beyond praise. Foliated capitals of the species that gives the best work of the early fourteenth century some of its fame are, save at Patrington, not conspicuous. There is a single instance in the south arcade at Middleton Tyas, in the North Riding, flat and spreading in execution, which is strikingly like the carved foliage in one or two Lincolnshire churches.[1] The arcade of the south chapel at Stillingfleet has sculptured capitals of about 1340-50, which, with some skill, combine some coarseness of workmanship. The whole fabric of

[1] Especially at Branston and Washingborough, in Kesteven, close to Lincoln. The south arcade at Sheriff Hutton has carving of the same type, but a little later, perhaps, in date. Some of the work at Sheriff Hutton is not unlike that at Stillingfleet, and the same date may be given to it.

Acaster Malbis, on the other side of the Ouse, belongs approximately to the middle of the fourteenth century. Its beauty is mainly the result of its great simplicity and the careful design of the rectangular windows with which it is lighted. These have a family likeness to the window-openings of the large contemporary chancel at Skipwith, not many miles distant; at Skipwith the east window has five lights, while at Acaster a much smaller window has seven, designed with unimpeachable regard to proportion.[1] The plainness of fourteenth-century work, which is so attractive at Acaster Malbis, is not always so successful. The church at Easingwold, largely of fourteenth-century date, with a good east window, and a similar west window obscured by the later tower, has arcades whose attenuated chamfered orders die away in the piers without the intervention of capitals. Such work may be boldly treated with success;[2] but at Easingwold the treatment succeeds only in looking poverty-stricken.

Fine churches of this date, like that of Bainton, near Driffield, are not common, therefore, in Yorkshire. However, in a certain number of instances, we find that the development of the church-plan has led to the enlargement of the chancel, with a result of surprising beauty. In the earlier part of the thirteenth century, we find certain instances in which the multiplication of lancets in the walls of a long chancel, without other very noticeable ornament, produces a very beautiful effect.[3] West Heslerton, near

[1] Acaster Malbis has two small oblong "low-side" windows, with iron bars outside, one on each side of the chancel. "Low-side" windows, which are fairly plentiful in Yorkshire, are mainly of interest from the point of view of their disputed place in ecclesiastical ritual. The best example, perhaps, in Yorkshire, is the plain but beautifully proportioned lancet in the south wall of Wensley chancel, which is lengthened to form a window of this type, and the lower part divided from the upper by a transverse bar of stone.

[2] As at St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and St. John's in the same town. In both cases, however, it is open to the reproach of dulness. Kirby Misperton and Harewood are other Yorkshire examples.

[3] Kindred examples are found in other districts of the North—*e.g.* at Mitford, near Morpeth, Houghton-le-Spring, and St. Andrew's at Auckland. Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, and Cherry Hinton, near Cambridge, are

Malton, and Kirk Ella, near Hull, are cases in point; Sherburn-in-Elmet is another on a larger scale. On the appearance of the traceried window, the opportunities for fresh beauty and even splendour are much increased. Sprotbrough, near Doncaster, where the chancel windows have very simple geometrical tracery, is an early instance of this. Rudston, near Bridlington, shows an advance towards the perfected type. Of this the chief examples are outside Yorkshire. The spacious chancels, with large traceried east windows, elaborate piscinæ and sedilia in the south wall, the founder's tomb and a permanent stone Easter Sepulchre in the north wall, are found chiefly south and west of Lincoln;[1] and the only Yorkshire member of this class is at Patrington, where the chancel is apparently later than that of any of the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire examples. In a certain number of cases, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, the chancel appears on the usual large scale, but without the Easter Sepulchre and founder's tomb. At Halsall, in West Lancashire, the founder's tomb occurs without the Easter Sepulchre, the piscina and sedilia still occupying their normal position in the south wall. If there is any line of connection between these beautiful chancels—and their general similarity of planning seems to forbid us to disregard the possibility—Halsall presents the closest analogy to the comparatively little-known series of chancels at the foot

rich instances of the type; and one of the most beautiful of all, in spite of considerable restoration, is at Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury.

[1] Hawton, Notts, close to Newark, is the finest in detail of these chancels, Heckington, near Sleaford, the finest in proportion. The others are Navenby, south of Lincoln, and Sibthorpe, south of Newark. Arnold, north of Nottingham, keeps its Easter Sepulchre, but is otherwise much modernised. Fledborough, on the Trent north of Newark, is a beautiful fourteenth-century church with remains of an Easter Sepulchre. Claypole, between Newark and Grantham, with comparatively plain sedilia and Sepulchre, is a rather late example of this fine class of chancel; in detail, it is surpassed by its nave, which at once brings Patrington to mind, so similar is the carving of the foliage on the capitals. In most of these cases, there has been a chantry-chapel or sacristy in close connection with the founder's tomb and the Sepulchre, the entrance to which is usually between the two. This remains entire at Heckington, where it has an upper and lower storey.

of the Swale valley.[1] Patrick Brompton is the most beautiful of these. Its effect is greatly due to the use of elaborate suites of mouldings in the chancel-arch, the arches and jambs of the windows, and the trefoiled arch of the tomb-recess in the north wall. Crocketed pinnacles rise along the wall-surface on either side of the recess: the east window is flanked by ogee-headed niches resting on brackets carved into the shape of heads; the niches are crowned by crocketed pediments. The sedilia have straight-sided gables with crockets and finials ending in heads. A very bold scroll-shaped string-course is continued round the whole chancel, rising over the sedilia, vestry door, and the entire tomb-recess, but keeping below the sills of the windows. The east window, of five lights, is a very imposing example of the beauty of reticulated design in tracery. In this respect, the chancel of Kirkby Wiske falls behind Patrick Brompton, with a modern east window: the original window appears to have resembled that at Patrick Brompton. Kirkby Wiske also has plainer mouldings throughout, and is rather less lofty, but in the matter of crocketing and head-sculpture is distinctly richer. Ainderby Steeple has fared the worst of the three, as an organ-chamber has been made at the point in the north wall which ought to be the place of the tomb-recess and adjacent chantry-chapel door. If they existed, they have been swept away. The chancel here is smaller than the other two, and the east window is lower; but its freely flowing tracery, with quatrefoils in the wider inter-spaces of the ramifications, is remarkably beautiful. The scroll string-course is found here, as at Patrick Brompton and Kirkby Wiske; and so are the niches in the wall on either side of the east window. The string-course at Ainderby proceeds, at the western corners of the chancel, from the

[1] The best of the Nottingham chancels (without Easter Sepulchres or founders' tombs are Car Colston, near Bingham, and Woodborough, between Southwell and Nottingham. Sandiacre, between Nottingham and Derby, and Dronfield, between Chesterfield and Sheffield, are Derbyshire members of the family. Winwick, near Warrington, though rebuilt out of knowledge, bears some signs of original kinship with Halsall.

mouths of grotesque head-stops: the niches are grievously mutilated. It is certain that these chancels produced a great effect in the neighbourhood, and provoked some emulation. The humble church of Great Langton, in a meadow above a rapid curve of the Swale, has a three-light east window with reticulated tracery and delicately executed wave-mouldings; while Croft-on-Tees, in several respects a curious church, has a large and rather bare chancel, with coarsely but prodigally carved sedilia and piscina, and windows with curvilinear tracery. The buttresses of the walls are the most beautiful feature here. Ball-flower, a sign of early fourteenth-century work, which does not appear in the chancels of which we have been speaking, is used freely at Croft; but the character of the rest of the carving is distinctly late. While we may attribute the work at Croft to the example of Patrick Brompton, it would be difficult to father Patrick Brompton on a comparatively unskilled piece of work like Croft, when so many beautiful analogies are to be found in parts of England that were, in the Middle Ages, chief centres of architectural influence. It may be added that at Owston, near Doncaster, there is an early fourteenth-century chancel, in which the design is allied, though the proportions are different, to this stately type; it contains a founder's tomb which, like those at Patrick Brompton and Kirkby Wiske, was probably used as an Easter Sepulchre instead of a separate and permanent receptacle.[1]

The light and beautiful chancel at Skipwith, in the East Riding, offers a good instance of development of plan in

[1] This probably was often the case. The chantry-chapel north of the chancel at Newark was directed by its founder, early in the sixteenth century, to be set up where the Sepulchre was wont to be set up at Easter, and doubtless formed a sort of shrine for the movable Sepulchre. The tomb of Sir John Clopton at Long Melford, in Suffolk, north of the chancel, is said to have served the same purpose. A movable oak structure at Cowthorpe, in Claro wapentake, is usually quoted as a temporary Sepulchre. Permanent stone structures, like that at Hawton, were luxuries; and although ornamented aumbries used for this end are not uncommon, recesses which are primarily Easter Sepulchres are rare.

these later churches. A wide chancel was built at the east end, clear of the earlier building; the older chancel was then, it would seem, entirely taken down, and the thirteenth-century arcades joined to the new chancel by an additional bay. No new chancel-arch was constructed, as the aisleless chancel is of the same width as the central division of the nave. Exactly the opposite thing happened, not very many years later, close by, at Bubwith. Here, instead of a chancel at the east end, a new tower was built at the west end, some feet beyond the front of the existing church, which was joined to the new work by an additional bay, and the aisles were lengthened to match. Enlargements of plan, undertaken during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are to be noticed in the majority of Yorkshire churches, although the alterations are frequently but slight. We have noticed the widening of the south aisle at Sherburn-in-Elmet and the subsequent addition of a large chantry-chapel east of the porch. The walls of the aisle were raised to admit of larger windows, and surrounded with a battlemented parapet, enclosing a new roof of very slight pitch. Large chantry-chapels, aisles in themselves, open out of the south wall at Hickleton and Stillingfleet, their west wall forming, in the first case, the east wall of the porch, and in the second, stopping short of the porchless south doorway. The south aisles at Darfield and Croft-on-Tees were built in relation to the chantry-chapels which they contained. In Holderness, where there are many instances of gradually developing plan, a chantry-chapel has commonly been added to one or both sides of the chancel. A few churches on the southern slope of the Wolds throw out small transeptal chapels of late Gothic date. The fine late thirteenth-century north transept at Wath-on-Dearne was evidently intended to provide increased accommodation for altars. The later south transeptal chapel at the other Wath, near Masham, was the burial-place of the Nortons of Norton Conyers: here, too, north of the chancel as in a few other Yorkshire instances, is a fifteenth-century sacristy,

originally of two storeys, with a look-out window into the chancel from the upper storey.[1] The Nevilles of Snape Castle are buried in the broad south aisle of the church of Well, near Wath, where a similar sacristy remains. At West Tanfield, in the same neighbourhood, the north aisle is occupied by the splendid tombs of the Marmions: the north chapel of the chancel at Swine Priory contains the hardly less beautiful effigies of the Hiltons. The north chapel of the chancel at Harpham in the East Riding was the tomb-chapel of the St. Quintins; at Barnburgh, between Rotherham and Doncaster, the tomb-chapel of the Cresacres.[2] A chantry-chapel at the east end of the south aisle at Barnburgh is still enclosed by its screen-work:[3] this is also the case, for example, in both aisles of the nave at Thirsk, and in the chancel chapels at Darton, near Barnsley. Occasionally, the aisle chapels, especially in the earlier instances, are very narrow; there is an instance of this at Terrington, near Castle Howard, where the chapel opening from the south wall of the nave forms a tiny aisle of only a few feet in projection from the main building. At Owston, near Doncaster, they are broad in proportion to the rest of the church; and, to give more room to the chapel at the end of the north aisle, the eastern part of the north wall has been thrust out in a transept-like projection. In cases like West Tanfield[4] or Ledsham, near Pontefract, the addition of a north aisle and chancel-chapel enlarges the church to nearly twice its size, so that at Ledsham, we have, as it

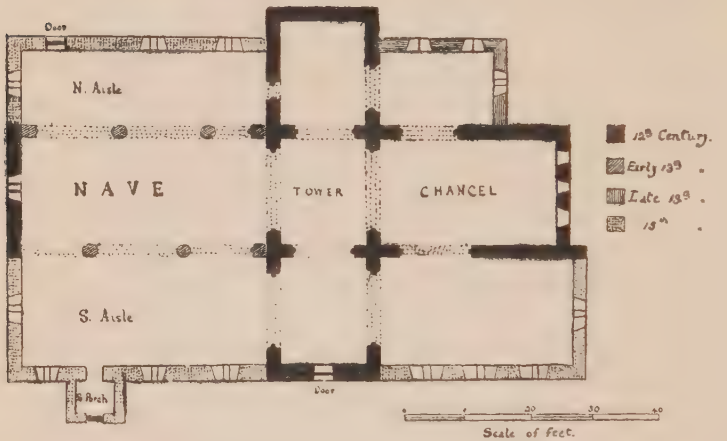
[1] There are similar sacristies at Romaldkirk in Teesdale, and at Roos in Holderness. Vaulted sacristies occur at West Gilling and at Grinton in Swaledale.

[2] The south chapel at Methley, the burial-place of the Watertons, with its stone screen, is a further example from the West Riding.

[3] At Croft-on-Tees almost the whole south aisle is enclosed by screen-work. Similarly, at Hungarton in Leicestershire the south aisle was the chapel belonging to Quenby Hall; and at Stratton Strawless in Norfolk a south aisle is thus enclosed. Mr. Bodley has placed screen-work round the south aisle at Hickleton.

[4] West Tanfield possesses a curious and unique feature in the small rectangular chamber which is hollowed out in the fragment of wall between the north chapel and the chancel-arch. This recess has small openings towards

were, two aisleless churches of rectangular plan, one of the eleventh and twelfth, the other of the fourteenth, century, connected by a common arcade. But two of the best examples of gradual development of plan on a large scale are to be found near Doncaster, at Arksey and Campsall. The stages of development at Arksey are fairly clear, as many indications of the early plan have been left. The nucleus of the building was a twelfth-century cross-church, probably



SKETCH-PLAN OF ARKSEY CHURCH.

aisleless, with a central tower. The crossing seems to have been remodelled, and aisles added to the nave, during the later years of the twelfth century: the arches and clustered shafts supporting the tower are beautiful work of this date. At the same time the aisleless chancel was rebuilt and lengthened. The first addition to the church thus enlarged was the narrow chapel to the north of the chancel, the east window of which fixes its date at the end of the thirteenth or the

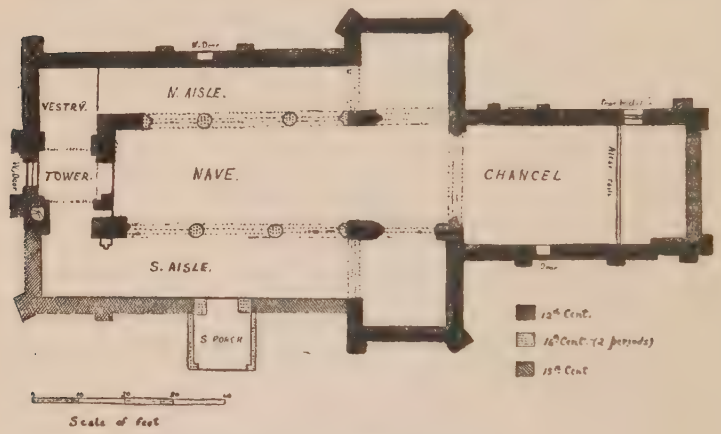
the chancel in its east and south walls. The usual explanation of a "confessional" has been suggested: is it not more likely to have been a small anker-hold, with openings to allow of the occupant joining in the services of altar and choir? A "low-side" window at Tanfield is pierced in a projection of the south wall of the nave.

very beginning of the fourteenth century. The north wall of the chancel was left, above the arcade, much in its former condition, and blocked portions of the window-openings encroached upon by the new arches were left in position. During the fifteenth century, both aisles were widened, so as to absorb a large part of the west wall of the north and most of the west wall of the south transept, into the interior of the building. These walls were left in much the same condition as the north wall of the chancel; and that at the end of the north aisle was left untouched. Last of all, the very broad south chapel was added to the chancel about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The south wall of this chapel is set out in a line with the south front of the adjacent transept: an arcade of two bays is pierced in the south chancel-wall; but the eastern part of this wall, south of the altar, was retained without piercing. This latest chapel projects farther east than the chancel itself, while the opposite and smaller chapel ends west of the sanctuary; the plan of the east end of the church is thus highly irregular and unusual. The later builders seem to have thought that their larger windows compensated for the light of which they deprived the chancel. It is interesting to find a church, in which, with so many additions, so much of the original elevation has been preserved. The considerations which suggested the various enlargements after the twelfth century must have been purely utilitarian; for these enlargements were carried out just so far as was thought necessary, and with as little rebuilding as possible.[1]

The nucleus of Campsall is also an aisleless cross-church, some of the rubble masonry of which remains above the arcades of the nave. This early church, which may or may not have had a central tower, was remodelled

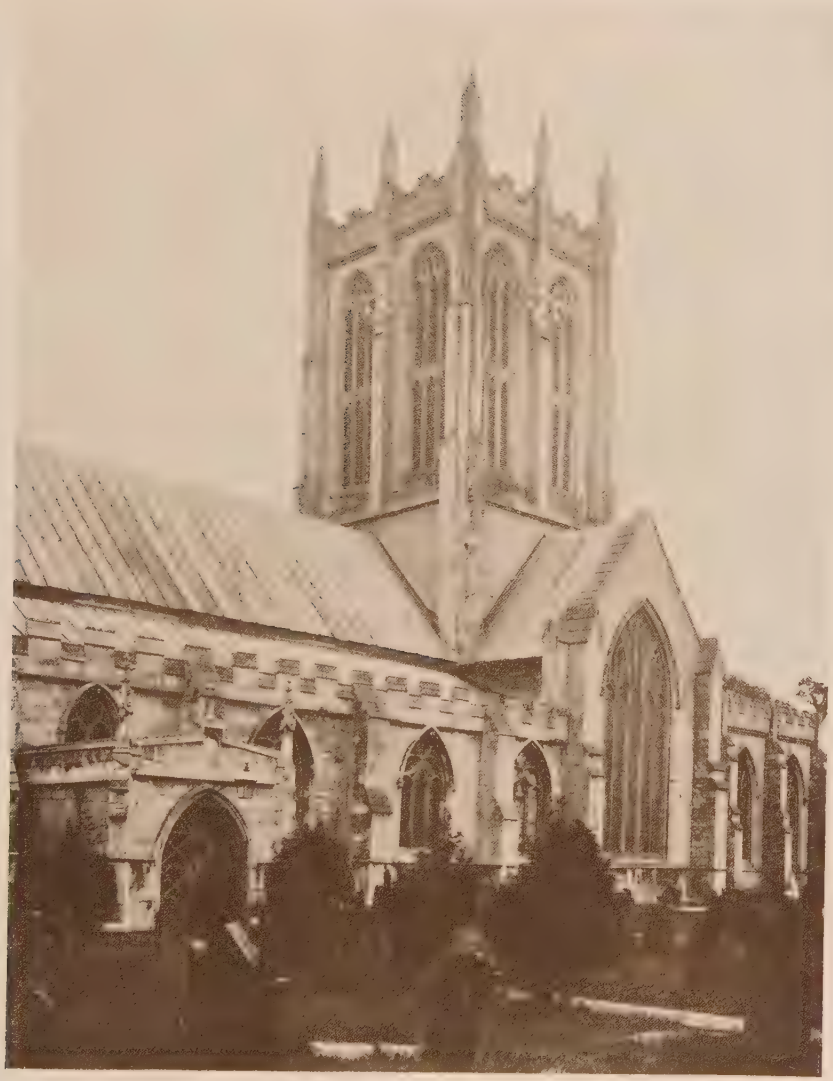
[1] An instance, outside Yorkshire, of this kind of building on a larger scale is St. Mary's at Shrewsbury, where, when the enormous south chapel was added to the chancel, a large portion of the walls of the transept and chancel which it enclosed were left untouched. *Cf.* also the way in which, at Lichfield and Hereford Cathedrals, portions of the outer wall have been left, when chapels have been added, as internal dividing walls.

towards the end, approximately, of the third quarter of the twelfth century. The arch at the east end of the south aisle is of very late Norman work, and cuts into an earlier window in the west wall of the transept which it pierces. If there was a regular crossing, it was thrown into the nave by the removal of its western arch; the three other arches, leading into the transepts and the chancel, were rebuilt, and the fine western tower with its elaborate western entrance was added. This tower,



SKETCH-PLAN OF CAMPSALL CHURCH.

of three stages, has at the top on each side an arcade of five divisions, four of which are pierced and the central one left blank. Here we have a rich variation on the design at Brayton or Riccall, where late Saxon traditions are preserved in Transitional towers. Unlike the tower of Riccall, however, where in the course of years the unpierced north and south walls became enclosed in aisles, and like Sherburn-in-Elmet, the Campsall tower was engaged from the first. To complete this beautiful church, the chancel, in all probability, was entirely rebuilt and enlarged; most of its fabric is of this period, with flat pilaster buttresses, and keeps one of its windows.



Campsall Church, S.W.

In the course of the next century, the internal arrangements of this large chancel were somewhat altered; and later Gothic windows were inserted at various times in its walls. Not until the later part of the fourteenth century were the aisles and arcades of the nave rebuilt. The south doorway, though rather earlier, to judge by some of its details, may be of the same date as this rebuilding; it has a very peculiar form, that of a shouldered arch, and its hollow mouldings are filled with four-leaved flower ornament. It is covered by a porch with a pointed barrel-vault supported by transverse ribs.[1] Probably, the outer walls of the aisles were repaired and heightened in the fifteenth century. The windows of these aisles are mostly late in character; and the west end of the south aisle, with its vaulted baptistery and chamber above, is certainly of this date, in common with a great part of the adjacent wall. Traces of the original plan have been masked more effectually at Campsall than at Arksey; but enough remains to enable the history of the plan to be followed out with some approach to certainty.[2]

It would be tempting to pursue the course which we have taken with respect to Arksey and Campsall in the case of churches like Fishlake, Snaith, or Sandal Magna, where the original fabric has been much enlarged as time has gone on. In the majority of cases, it will be found that the ordinary large parish church has a spacious but aisleless chancel, broad aisles to the nave, and a western tower standing clear of the aisles. This is the plan at

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[1] This type of porch, usually with a triangular slabbed roof supported on transverse pointed arches (*cf.* the south transept at Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, the little north transept at Croscombe, Somerset, the sacristy at Willingham, Cambs, &c.) was popular in the neighbourhood of Doncaster. It appears again at Edlington, Hickleton, Owston, Wath-on-Dearne, and in other places.

[2] North Cave, in the East Riding, is another cross-plan with a western tower instead of one over the crossing. Old Clee in Lincolnshire, the early plan of Newark, and Condover in Shropshire, seem, although they have cross arms of equal height, to have been planned with no reference to a tower.

which, in the fourteenth century, Aldborough, Patrick Brompton, and Kirkby Wiske, to mention only three churches, arrive. In the last two cases, there was a small north chantry-chapel connected with the founder's tomb; but this was walled off from the chancel, forming no integral portion of the plan. Hackness, Kirklington, Wensley, and Masham are more examples from the North Riding; Bainton, Nafferton, and Settrington are from the East Riding; Anston, Brayton, Penistone, and Spotbrough are typical examples from the West Riding. On the other hand, we have seen the aisled chancel developing at Arksey until it almost swallows the transepts. What was threatened at Arksey took place at Wakefield, where the present cathedral, an aisleless cruciform church to begin with, became, by successive enlargements, a huge oblong, with aisles stretching the whole length of nave and chancel.[1] Catterick, which was built about 1412, the date of the existing contract for its erection, was planned with chancel chapels.

Tickhill is the only parish church in the county which, almost entirely rebuilt in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, included an eastern Lady Chapel and transverse ambulatory besides chancel-aisles. The plan is widely divergent from the ordinary type in the north and east of England, and is more nearly akin to that of St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol, or of Crediton and Ottery St. Mary.

[1] A series of sketch plans of Wakefield Cathedral, showing the successive development of its parts, was published to illustrate the visit of the Yorkshire Archæological Society in 1905. It is needless to remark that, though a cathedral church by force of circumstance, Wakefield was, until the recent additions, an exemplar of the large town parish church, like Halifax or Chesterfield. The collegiate church of Hemingbrough is another study in the development of the aisled chancel-plan. Hatfield and Sheriff Hutton, among the larger village churches, are other cases of the development of the chancel-aisles on the plan. The plan of Pickering Church is a useful instance of the growth of chantry-chapels round a normal aisleless chancel, rebuilt early in the fourteenth century. Instances like Wakefield, where a cruciform church has been absorbed in an aisled rectangle, are not always easy to trace: Marshfield, in Gloucestershire, near Bath, is a good instance, where the transept-arches have been blocked up and left in masses of wall between the body of the church and the aisles.

Wakefield, on the other hand, belongs to the type of the York churches, or Louth, Newark, and Grantham. Neither the plan of Wakefield nor of Tickhill is one which we expect to find in village churches. To these the plan with the aisleless chancel, which, among the larger churches, is found at Thirsk, is more appropriate. Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in the early period of what is known as Perpendicular work, and Bolton Percy, which belongs to the period of its perfection, show us this kind of plan in its full success.

Fifteenth-century architecture is plentiful in Yorkshire, but its effect is usually very cold and plain. Catterick, for a church whose history has been so carefully preserved, is disappointing; apart from a few tombs, it is one of those buildings which tempt one to reflect on the poorness and want of invention inherent in much Perpendicular architecture. In the western and northern parts of the county, we frequently meet with a plain type of three-light window, with an obtusely-pointed head, and straight mullions dividing the lights; the ramifications which spring from the upper part of each mullion, and form the heads of the lights, are straight, and only coarse cusping on their under-sides relieves the angular effect thus produced. This species belongs chiefly to Northallerton and the neighbourhood, but it occurs, built in the same dark yellow stone, as far south as Silkstone. Noble windows, like the west window at Tickhill, are rare, though Fishlake has one fully as fine.[1] On the whole, of all the fifteenth-century churches in the county, Thirsk is the most satisfactory.[2] Its handsome western tower, its beautiful arcades, with well-moulded pointed arches and columns of four clustered shafts, its

[1] To these may be added the east window at Patrington, the south transept window at Hemingbrough, and a few more.

[2] Hardly less satisfactory, as a small village church, than Thirsk is Whenby, near Sheriff Hutton, probably built in the last years of the fourteenth century. The detail is plain, but exceedingly good; there is a good tower, and a south porch with two-light windows in each of its sides. There is only a north aisle, continued eastwards into a chancel chapel.

broad aisles, with their screened-off chapels, its adequate aisle-windows, its bright clerestory, which lights up the rich carving of the roof, and its remains of old glass, place it high in the first rank among English churches of its date.[1] Here the inferiority of Catterick is redeemed; and we feel, as we feel in many of the churches of East Anglia or Somerset, Long Melford, Lavenham, Sall, Walpole St. Peter, or Yatton, that the architecture of the fifteenth century, even when deprived of those accessories of furniture which were so important to it, surpasses that of earlier centuries in beauty of planning and design, and can, at its best, equal its predecessors in carefulness of detail. The chancel of Bolton Percy is a conspicuous instance of magnificent planning, and the same may be said of Skirlaugh. Skirlaugh, however, suffers from monotony of detail, and from the loss of the stained-glass which was intended to supply half its beauty; in such a case, measurement alone can awaken a proper degree of admiration. Detail at Bolton Percy is richer, and colour is given to the chancel by the restored east window, with its five great figures of archbishops and their coats-of-arms below; but the absence of a clerestory from the nave spoils the general effect, and, as at Kirkby Wiske in the preceding period, the nave is little more than a large but unpretentious vestibule to a splendid chancel.

Clerestories are by no means invariably found in Yorkshire naves of this date. They occur, as a rule, as additions to the churches of Holderness, and at Tickhill and Thirsk they are conspicuous features. As a rule, they

[1] There is a crypt-chapel below the chancel at Thirsk. Another at Bedale is due to the same cause, the rapid fall of the ground at the east end, which is responsible, again, for the crypt-like vestries and the chamber below the Lady Chapel at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. Other Yorkshire crypts are the famous Norman crypt at Lastingham, and a later crypt at Hornsea. In both cases the ground falls at the back of the church. The space below the modern quasi-chancel at Upholland, Lancashire, has been used for vestries; and in modern work, as at Truro Cathedral or the new parish church at Stoke Damerel, near Devonport, a fall in the ground has been utilised in the same way.

have small openings, which give insufficient light to the roofs. Harewood, which is mostly of the fifteenth century, has no clerestory to its plain nave; and often, as at Hickleton, the restorers added large windows to the aisles without troubling about the clerestory. Arksey has no clerestory, and the internal proportions of the three broad but not very long divisions of the nave are much injured thereby, and the light excluded. Campsall, on the other hand, owes an immense amount of the light and grace of its interior to its clerestory, although, outside, as is so often the case, the clerestory is too high for the western tower. But even this awkwardness is better than the external appearance, at Sandal Magna, of a nave and aisles, forming three nearly equal divisions, whose roofs have been considerably flattened, and additional height given thereby to a tall central tower. In the interior, the great height of the arcades, which are of fourteenth-century character,[1] goes far to compensate for the absence of a clerestory. To those who estimate rightly the importance of planning in churches of this period, and the dependence of the elevation on the conditions of the plan, a church like Darton, between Barnsley and Wakefield, will appeal. This is a thoroughly adequate parish church, with aisles and chancel chapels, in which excellence of woodwork and glasswork remedied the plainness, now a little too apparent, of stonework.

A few miles west of Darton, at Silkstone, a church of various dates, with aisles and large chancel chapels, was cased with fifteenth-century walling of a coarse, but very elaborate kind. Parapets with grotesque gargoyle-heads were added all round the church, a new western tower was built, and the buttresses of the aisle walls were reinforced, on the outer edges of their offsets, by pinnacles which were connected with the upper parts of the buttresses by small flying-arches. The same method of buttressing occurs, among other instances, at South Kirkby, near

[1] The heightened fourteenth-century arcades at Wakefield Cathedral evidently had no little influence at Sandal.

Wakefield, and at Halifax parish church. Another fine church, not many miles distant, and practically rebuilt in this period, is the large cross-church of Ecclesfield, with its rich parapets and high central tower; its position on the slope of a hill above the village adds greatly to its dignity, but, in spite of good screen-work, the interior of the building stands in need of its mediæval glass and furniture. In churches of this kind, the absolute necessity for such adornments is rightly felt; it was with a view to screen-work, stall-work, and glasswork that they were planned, and the loss of such adjuncts cannot sufficiently be deplored. Large fragments of mediæval glass occur all over the county, especially round York;[1] and there is a fair amount of screen-work, especially in the West Riding.[2] Silkstone has a beautiful screen, but the loft has gone. The loft remains in the little chapel of Hubberholme, in Upper Wharfedale, remote from the destructive zeal of the later sixteenth century;[3] and the East Riding examples of Winestead

[1] The following churches in which are remains of glass should be noticed:—NORTH RIDING: Coxwold, Easby, Finghall, Grinton, Guisbrough, Hauxwell, Ingleby Arncliffe, Kirby Sigston, Marrick, Oswaldkirk, Raskelf, Redmire, Sutton-on-the-Forest, Tanfield, Thirsk, Well, Wycliffe. EAST RIDING: Eastrington, Ellerton, Folkton, Holme-on-the-Wolds, Leconfield, Lockington, Paull, Settrington, Thorpe Bassett, Walkington, Wilberfoss, Wintringham. WEST RIDING: Acaster Malbis, Bolton Percy, Calverley, Darton, Denton, Elland, Emley, Harewood, Horton-in-Ribblesdale, Kildwick, High Melton (fine fourteenth century), Methley, Nether Poppleton, Thornhill, Thrybergh, Wistow, Woolley, and Wragby (late Flemish). The wonderful wealth of glass in York need only be alluded to in passing.

[2] Rood-screens, beside those mentioned in the text, occur, in whole or part, sometimes with parclose-screens, at the following places:—NORTH RIDING: Bulmer, Crayke, Romaldkirk, Seamer, Wensley, Whenby. EAST RIDING: Lockington, Patrington, Skipwith, Sutton-on-Hull, Swine, Watton, Welwick. WEST RIDING: Barnby Don, Bingley, Burnsall, Cantley, Ecclesfield, Fishlake, Hatfield, Kildwick, Owston, Ripley, Skipton, Sprotbrough, Wragby. Other remains of screen-work exist at:—NORTH RIDING: Bedale, Croft-on-Tees, Easby (near Richmond), Grinton, Hornby (with good diaper-painting on inner panels), Thirsk. EAST RIDING: Garton-in-Holderness, Hemingbrough, Kirk Ella, Wintringham. WEST RIDING: Barnburgh, Bradfield, Darton, Edlington, Sandal Magna, Slaidburn, Thorner. These lists are not exhaustive: see Cox and Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–43. The wall-paintings at Easby and Pickering, invaluable aids to the colour of a church interior, should also be remembered.

[3] Rood-lofts are most frequently found in places difficult of access, like Llanelieu, Llanegryn, Llananno, and Patricio, all in various districts of Wales, or Blackawton in Devonshire, or Coates-by-Stow in Lincolnshire.

and Flamborough, the latter in a fragile and imperfect condition, but keeping its colour, must not be forgotten. Screen-work from Jervaulx and Easby Abbeys is preserved at Aysgarth and Wensley; the screen at Campsall, remarkable for its curious inscription, is popularly said to have been removed from Wallingwells Priory, near Worksop. The stall-work at Richmond came from Easby Abbey; but the stalls at Wensley and Hemingbrough are indigenous work, and point to a collegiate foundation at the latter place, and, at the former, to an attempt at such a foundation.

This is the place to speak of towers and spires. Of spires not very many examples remain. Laughton-en-le-Morthen is incomparably the finest of these, a splendid spire, which challenges comparison with Lincolnshire spires of the type of Billingborough, Brant Broughton, or Caythorpe. There is a central stone spire at Hemingbrough, absurdly out of proportion to its low tower. It is impossible to refer to Yorkshire spires without mentioning the spire of Rotherham, a stately crown to a town church which is the *beau idéal* of a fifteenth-century cross-plan. The central spire of Patrington is famous for the open octagon from inside which it springs; it is well proportioned to the tower below, but the effect is spoiled by the feeble little flying-buttresses and the pinnacles which meet them. The pinnacles have no obvious interest in the tower below, and seem to be kept in equilibrium merely by the straddling spread of their feet. An octagon occurs between the tower and spire at Brayton and Masham; in both cases the earlier towers were planned to receive a lighter capping, and look uncomfortable beneath the weight.[1] The

[1] Bempton, in the East Riding, and All Saints', Pontefract, mentioned below, have octagons on square towers. All Saints', Pavement, at York, is a famous church with an octagon lantern on its tower; and two other York churches have octagonal turrets over their west gable. Coxwold and Sancton, near Market Weighton, have towers which are octagonal from the ground.

tower at Arksey has a good broach-spire of stone, and there is a picturesque little broach-spire at Womersley. Middleton Tyas, in the North Riding, has a fairly early broach-spire of timber and lead. Two fine spires of Lincolnshire rather than Yorkshire character occur near Patrington, the broach-spires of Keyingham and Ottringham. A compromise between the tower and spire exists at Barnburgh, where a magnificent upper storey, added in the later part of the fourteenth century to a Norman tower, has a stone pinnacle in the centre, higher than those at the angles.[1] Conisbrough and Darfield have towers with upper storeys which were probably imitated one from the other; at Darfield, though the tower is not noticeably oblong, the east and west sides have double windows, though there is only one on the north and south. This is an ugly peculiarity with no original merit, and towers like Penistone or Darton, where there is only a single window in each face, and the only effort apparent is directed to the attainment of sufficient height, are infinitely more satisfactory. Among the rest of the West Riding towers, Fishlake and Tickhill,[2] engaged within their aisles, are pre-eminent, but other instances which call for mention are the upper storey of Sprotbrough, bearing a certain family likeness to Barnburgh; the high tower, hidden in the folds of the hills, of Kirkby Malham, a large fifteenth-century church with late and coarse detail; and, though here we trespass on the limits of the town church, the central octagon at All Saints', Pontefract, which, in its position and relation to

[1] Upton, Notts, near Southwell, has a similar but less elaborate arrangement of pinnacles.

[2] Tickhill was supposed by Sir Gilbert Scott to have supplied the model for the engaged tower at Newark, and so, in turn, to Grantham. The tower has a beautiful fifteenth-century upper storey, with a parapet like that of the neighbouring church of Blyth in Notts, raised on a lofty, late twelfth-century substructure. Tickhill is not, of course, the prototype of all engaged towers. Sherburn-in-Elmet and Campsall were planned earlier to open into aisles as well as nave. At Bishop Wilton and Burton Pidsea the tower is not merely engaged, but built up on independent supports within the nave (*cf.* St. Mary's, Leicester). The same thing is seen on a small scale in the aisleless nave of Nun Monkton.

the square tower below, recalls the general outline of that of St. Ouen at Rouen.

Outside the West Riding, the three great central towers of South Yorkshire, Howden, Hull, and Hedon, stand far above the rest; but Cottingham, which belongs to the same class of work, is not far behind them, with long double belfry windows, of noble simplicity of detail. Next to these is the late fourteenth-century tower at Northallerton, the only drawback to which lies in its attempt to minimise the value of the angle-buttresses. After this come the western towers of Pocklington and Driffield, which are more effective than the tower at Thirsk, which is handsome mainly by virtue of its proportion to the church behind. Of purely village church towers none is better than Nafferton, near Driffield, which harmonises excellently with the clerestory of the nave. Catterick, Bolton-on-Swale, Danby Wiske, and one or two other North Riding towers have lofty lower stages with ribbed vaulting. This is probably a survival of the vaulted lower storeys of towers like Melsonby, near the Tees, which evidently received vaults for the sake of defence in the time of strife;[1] for they form no part of buildings remarkable for elaborateness of detail. The large tower at Bedale has a vaulted lower storey, and the arrangements of the staircase and first floor prove that it was intended to serve the purpose, on occasion, of what is inaccurately known as a "pele-tower." At Spennithorne a more or less military appearance is given to the tower by the addition of stone "defenders" to the battlements; these, however, are there simply for the sake of ornament, as no foe could ever have been frightened by the sight of figures in a place where no soldier in his senses would have thought of taking up his position. Sometimes, as at Hutton Rudby in Cleveland, at

[1] *Cf.* the tower at Whickham, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, with its pointed barrel-vault. The church-tower of Llywel, Breconshire, at the head of the important pass into Carmarthenshire, has a barrel-vaulted lower storey, and, like several towers in the neighbourhood (Devynock, Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn, and Brecon Priory) is battlemented heavily, and has a large rectangular corner-staircase.

Croft-on-Tees, at Barmston, in Holderness, and at Cawood, on the Ouse, the tower has been built at the west end of an aisle; but this is very exceptional.[1]

Of work undertaken after the Reformation period there are many indications, but few important remains. Although outside the category of village churches, St. John's, Leeds, should not be forgotten as a magnificent example of a parish church which, built at the time of the Laudian revival, keeps its original furniture of that date. Its only serious rival in England is Croscombe, in Somerset, which, however, is an earlier fabric containing later furniture. Three or four village churches were built in the middle of the seventeenth century; thus, in 1651, Bishop Tilson, of Elphin, who ministered during the Commonwealth at Cumberworth, consecrated the chapel of Meltham, which remains sandwiched in between a tower of 1835 and a more recent chancel.[2] At Stonegrave there is a beautiful Jacobean

[1] Churches with spires of mediæval origin, other than those that have been mentioned, are:—NORTH RIDING: Brompton (in Pickering Lythe), Burneston, Malton St. Leonard (lead), Pickering. EAST RIDING: Bishop Wilton, Ganton, Hessle, Huggate, Kirby Grindalyth, Rillington, Wintringham. WEST RIDING: Aberford, Acaster Malbis (timber spirelet), Anston, Armthorpe, Bramham, Drax, Ledsham (lead), Methley, Thrybergh, Wakefield Cathedral, Wath-on-Dearne, Whitkirk.

To enumerate the late Gothic towers of Yorkshire would be a long and superfluous task. These, however, should be specially noticed: The fine tower at Bubwith, on the Derwent; Bolton-by-Bowland, on the Ribble; Bolton Percy; Catterick; Danby, in Cleveland (S.W.); Ecclesfield (central); Gargrave, in Craven; Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, a fine tower in a good situation; Harewood; Haworth, near Bradford; Kildwick, in Craven; Kirk Fenton, between York and Pontefract (central); South Kirkby, near Wakefield; the curious little S.W. tower at Marton-on-the-Forest, in Bulmer wapentake; High Melton; Osmotherley; Preston, in Holderness; Settrington, near Malton; West Tanfield; Thornton Watlass, near Bedale, provided with a fireplace on the first floor, probably against a siege. The octagonal towers at Coxwold and Sancton have already been noted.

[2] Other seventeenth-century chapels are at Carlton Husthwaite, in Birdforth wapentake; Fewston, between Wharfedale and Nidderdale; Upper Midhope, near Penistone. The fabrics of dale-chapels, like Lunds or Stallingbusk, in the North Riding, may have been rebuilt at this period; on the other hand, they may be mediæval work by local masons who were more used to building farmhouses and barns. The chancel at Dalby, in Bulmer wapentake, the nave of which is Norman, has a very solid barrel-vault and high battlements round a flat roof: the details seem to indicate that this was a freak of some seventeenth-century restorer.

chancel-screen, amid other furniture of the period; Arksey and the very late Gothic church at Crayke, that southern *enclave* of the bishopric of Durham, have a large number of early seventeenth-century pews, with knobs projecting from the top surface of the corners. Curious Tudor bench-ends with grotesque heads, which are probably symbolical, survive at Sprotbrough, which, in its so-called "frith-stool," a stone chair with early fourteenth-century carving, possesses a valuable piece of mediæval furniture. Huntington, near York, and Hutton Rudby, in Cleveland, are two of a number of churches that possess fine post-Reformation pulpits. But, beyond the church at Leeds, and the beautiful chancel-screen at Wakefield, Yorkshire has little furniture that can compare with the woodwork of the Restoration period that fills the churches of Eaglescliffe and Brancepeth in the neighbouring county of Durham, that is so prominent at Sedgefield, and, at Durham and in the castle chapel at Bishop Auckland, shows such exquisite taste in the blending of Gothic with Renaissance forms.[1]

The effect of eighteenth-century restoration on the fabrics of Cleveland was commented on at the beginning of this article. Great insistence is now made on the evil of restoring away the work of eighteenth-century builders and carpenters; and, with all due disrespect for the anti-mediæval sentiment which often adds point to modern complaints on this score, it must be admitted that their work has its beauties, and has been succeeded, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, by a laboured imitation of Gothic stonework, filled with furniture for which it is vain to find a mediæval prototype. An upright board, grained and varnished, with bevelled upper corners, a quatrefoil pierced in the centre near the top, and umbrella-holders of twisted brass in the middle, bears no resemblance to a mediæval bench-end, and is no more useful and certainly

[1] There is Jacobean woodwork at Great Mitton, close to the Lancashire church of Whalley, which is a museum of woodwork of the late Gothic, Renaissance, and Queen Anne periods.

less beautiful than the ordinary square pew-end of an earlier day. Coxwold Church offered, till the other day, a most interesting spectacle—a fifteenth-century aisleless church, with handsome external detail and a great many fragments of old glass in the windows, filled with eighteenth-century furniture such as that which, after a period of neglect, has been swept out of hundreds and thousands of our old parish churches.[1] Although this may be replaced with excellent modern furniture, more beautiful by far than the type described above, its removal breaks a link in the continuity of history and architecture alike. Our churches are not dead monuments of the Middle Ages: they have adapted themselves to the needs of many generations, and, in adapting them to our own needs, we should be careful to preserve, where we can, the traces which our forefathers have left. Even when mediæval building was a live art, the builders of Arksey, in their wholesale alterations, left the story of their work to be read by after-ages. We ourselves too often treat the post-Reformation period as though it were a shameful part of history; and even, in restoring our churches to their "original" condition, assume that "original" condition to partake of the characteristics of early thirteenth-century architecture. We may hope that it will be long before an architect will be found who will strip Whitby Church of its highly curious furniture. Some monuments of the Georgian period at least may be suffered to remain. The work of restoration, however, is not always evil. Mr. Bodley's restorations at Hickleton and Womersley, founded on sound scholarship and remarkable intuition,[2] have

[1] The great family pew, approached by a high flight of stairs, that fills up a bay of the north arcade at Croft-on-Tees, and contrasts oddly with the mediæval screen-work of the opposite aisle, is probably the most perfect relic of eighteenth-century church furniture in Yorkshire.

[2] His restoration of the rood against the wall above the chancel-arch at Hickleton is an instance of accurate divination, which was confirmed by traces of ancient work, and prevented the obscuring of the details of the arch. Similar intuition, fully borne out by further investigation, was shown by the same architect in restoring the west window at Brant Broughton, and in advising the removal of the chancel-arch at Laughton, both in Lincolnshire.

given those churches an unquestionable beauty in keeping with the periods to which they, for the most part, belong. Mr. Comper's work at Cantley, near Doncaster, is elaborately true to mediæval precedent. In the churches of the Wolds, we can study, side by side, the work of more than one well-known church architect who has gone to his work of restoration with a highly developed sense of beauty, and of reverence for the building he has had to handle.[1]

Among complete rebuildings, the Wold churches of West Lutton, Helperthorpe, Fimber, and East Heslerton may be taken as favourable examples of the Gothic revival at its height; Dalton Holme, north of Beverley, as an even more elaborate if less successful instance of the same type; and some of the churches near Thirsk as plainer examples of the work of men famous in the history of the revival. Burgess's twin churches at Studley Royal and at Skelton, near Boroughbridge, are famous buildings, rivalling in the costliness of their materials the even more famous church at Bodelwyddan in Flintshire. And, finally, latest and best among these country churches which the liberality of the past half-century has devoted to the service of God is the large and beautiful church of Sledmere, with its fine stone-carving and cool, bright, stained-glass. Whatever our descendants, in the eternal revolution of taste, may think of these works of our own day, it cannot be denied that they represent an upward progress from those rectangular monuments with towers at the west end, which, copying at a long distance models like Skirlaugh or the college chapels of Oxford or Cambridge, decorated our towns during the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century.[2] These remnants of the past,

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[1] The restorations of Goodmanham, Kirby Sigston, and several other churches in the East and North Ridings, by Mr. Temple Moore, the architect of Sledmere, are recent work which call for special mention.

[2] In the modern deanery of Huddersfield alone, out of forty-six churches, eighteen are modern Gothic examples, built between 1815 and 1850. There are three mediæval churches in the deanery. Probably, round Halifax and Dewsbury, the proportion is even greater; and an ecclesiological tour of the

gaunt and stained with smoke, clustering along the valleys of the Aire, Calder, Colne, and Don, have done and are doing honourable service in the fulfilment of their chief purpose; but when we reflect on the admiration with which their completion was greeted, as the triumph of revived Gothic art, they stand as memorials to warn us against trusting too much in the finality of our own taste in such matters, and against destroying the work of the past to replace it by work which, with an equally light-hearted contempt, the next generation will unhesitatingly remove.

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churches near Saddleworth station, in Yorkshire but in the diocese of Manchester, will reveal some interesting work of the Gothic revival. It is far from the present writer's mind to set a disproportionate value on the æsthetic element in church architecture; but it must be owned that the architects of the period between the dilettantism of Strawberry Hill and the sanctified ecclesiology of the Oxford Movement period had very little idea of what Archbishop Laud rightly called "the beauty of holiness."

THE NORMAN DOORWAYS OF YORKSHIRE

By Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

IT may seem presumptuous that one who cannot claim in any sense to be a Yorkshireman should take upon himself the task of writing a comprehensive article on any subject connected with that great county. It is no easy matter to endeavour to deal at all exhaustively with even such a familiar and commonplace subject, as most people would imagine a description of the Norman doorways to be; but when we come to consider the large number which still remain, the remote and secluded districts in which many of the most interesting are to be found, the varied and extremely puzzling details of some of the finer examples, the task is not so simple as might at first sight appear. Some few, such as those at Adel, and St. Margaret's Walmgate, York, are well known, and brief notices of many others appear in various architectural and topographical works dealing with the several portions of the county, and photographs are also obtainable; but, speaking generally, the information to be procured of these specimens of the care and skill of the early masons is, in Yorkshire as in other counties, extremely meagre, and it is hoped, therefore, that this article may do something to elucidate a subject not hitherto attempted. During a period of nearly forty years the writer has made many excursions in Yorkshire, and has visited most of the doorways described. He has also studied most of the works dealing with the topography and architecture of the county,

and trusts, therefore, that this will justify his temerity, and that he may be deemed competent to compile in a comprehensive form all that can be stated on this somewhat narrow but interesting topic.

Before commencing our treatise, which will deal mainly with the doorways in the churches and other ecclesiastical structures in the county, it will perhaps be convenient to refer to the few examples which occur in the secular buildings. The main arches of Bootham Bar, Micklegate, and Walmgate, York, are all plain, massive, semicircular-headed, and probably of early date.

At Richmond Castle the fine early Norman keep has a large main doorway, with two plain recessed arch mouldings, chamfered abacus, two engaged shafts on each side with large cushion capitals, except the inner on left, which has the acanthus design. On the first stage is a smaller doorway with billet on the hoodmould, plain order, chamfered abacus, large capital on each side—the shafts have gone—and plain tympanum. In the banqueting-hall are two plain late doorways on the ground floor, and on the first stage a large mutilated arch with chamfered abacus, and one capital with the acanthus ornament.

At Tickhill Castle are also Norman arches, and at Helmsley Castle is a plain doorway incorporated with the Elizabethan building erected by the Duke of Buckingham. At Conisbrough Castle are numerous plain doorways, some with transverse lintels. The main entrance on the first floor has a plain semicircular arch tympanum and lintel; the stones of the lintel are joggled in, in rather a peculiar manner.

The western doorway to the inner portion of Skipton Castle consists "of a treble semicircular arch, supported on square piers," concealed by the present entrance, which was added by Lady Pembroke. At Pickering Castle is a doorway in the curtain wall, semicircular-headed, with the pointed arched moulding on an angle roll, one scalloped capital on each side, and part of an octagonal shaft. In

Fig. 1.—Kirk Hammerton, South Doorway.

the two lower stages of a tower on the east side are plain doorways with chamfered edge to the arch and jambs.

It is worthy of notice that most of the doorways of the churches date from about the middle of the twelfth century, the period when a wave of religious enthusiasm swept through the county, and the majority of those glorious abbeys were founded, of which we still possess sufficient to enlighten us as to the artistic genius of the ancient builders, and the unbounded liberality of the founders of these great monastic institutions.

There are numerous churches in the county which are undoubtedly of pre-Norman date, but very few doorways remain which can be attributed to this early period. Sometimes, as at Kirkdale, the arch of the doorway has probably been slightly altered in later times, while the celebrated sundial above it still remains as a record of the early history of the church. At Laughton-en-le-Morthen the north doorway has a very plain Saxon arch now within one of transitional Norman date. In the crypt at Lastingham are some plain doorways, and those on the south side of the tower of Bardsey Church and at Terrington are reputed to be very ancient. At Kirk Hammerton (Fig. 1) the south doorway, the eastern portion of which has been somewhat renewed, has a plain hoodmould, continued as a masonry strip down the jambs to the ground. The arch is plain, and the abacus very massive with quarter round on the lower part. The west doorway to the tower is also very early, with two plain orders and abacus, one massive shaft on each side with large capital having some shallow scalloping on it. At Weaverthorpe the south doorway has a plain arch lintel and jambs, and recessed tympanum. In the centre of this has been inserted an early sundial with a four-line inscription above it.

The south doorway of Londesborough Church is of very early character. There is a deep groove on the arch, a very massive lintel supporting a heavy tympanum, on

which is engraved a sundial. The abacus is also massive, with some attempt at ornamentation on the west side, viz., shallow incised circles. A plain capital remains on each side, but the shafts are gone. Above the arch is a large Maltese cross with interlacing work on it, and a rose, or perhaps a figure, in the centre. (A very similar cross, though probably of later date, still remains above the fine Norman doorway at Bucklebury Church, Berkshire.) At Ledsham Church the south tower doorway possesses characteristics of the Saxon period, to which the tower undoubtedly belongs. The arch is in two orders. On the outer is a twining stem with leaves and fruit carried down the jambs to the ground; at the apex of the arch are three medallions, each enclosing a twelve-petalled rose. The inner order and jambs are massive and plain, and are separated by an abacus with interlaced work carved on it. The sculpture on the doorway at Danby Wiske is very rude, but cannot be ascribed with certainty to the pre-Norman period. The south doorway at Kirby Hill exhibits some long and short work on the jambs and a carved impost still *in situ*, which is alleged to be Saxon.

A considerable number of the doorways have tympana and lintels filling up the heads of the arches. Some are early, as the example at Londesborough already mentioned, and another at Bulmer, and there are plain tympana at Fordon, Kirkburn (North), Hunmanby (West), Roche Abbey, Romaldkirk, Seamer, and elsewhere, also in the interior of Selby Abbey and North Newbald Church. On the chancel doorway at Birkin the tympanum is plain, but the lintel is formed of small squared stones forming transverse lines. At Thorp Arch part of a former tympanum is let into the wall of the porch. It is ornamented with the hollow square or chessboard pattern. At Garton-on-the-Wolds is a small square-headed doorway in the interior east wall of the tower, with some scalloping on the lintel. The south doorway at Hauxwell has a tympanum divided up by double transverse lines into a series of lozenges, each enclosing

a circular disc. At Braithwell Church the tympanum is surrounded by a cable band, and has carved on it a circle enclosing a kind of gridiron pattern, another enclosing a pellet, and portions of the star ornament and pellets very irregularly arranged. There are five and a half large stars on the under side of the lintel.

In the "List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture," recently published by the author of this paper, eight examples are given from Yorkshire, viz., at Aldbrough in Holderness, Alne, Hunmanby, Austerfield, Danby Wiske, Wold Newton, Thwing, and the York Museum, and excellent illustrations of the last five are included in the work.

At Hunmanby, over the south doorway is a very massive tympanum with a Maltese cross, not within a circle, on the lower part. This is almost concealed by a wooden replica, which has been placed in front of it in comparatively recent times. At Wold Newton the very fine south doorway has a most interesting tympanum. The surface is diapered with chequer work, and in the centre is a Maltese "cross within a circle, having three small circular discs on the left and a circle on the right of the upper limb. Local tradition asserts that these are emblems respectively of the Blessed Trinity and Eternity." At Austerfield the carving is very curious, portraying a dragon with broad head and gradually decreasing beaded body towards the tail, which is knotted. Below it are a row of semicircles, and below again and more recessed, two circles enclosing pellets, several roses and pellets. Over the south chancel window of Aldbrough Church in Holderness is an irregularly shaped stone, said to have been brought from an earlier church, and probably the tympanum or lintel of a small doorway. On it are sculptured two animals with long tails, that on the left devouring a branch and suckling its young, that on the right with some chevron ornament above and at its side. The carving is very rude, and alleged to be of pre-Norman date.

At Hilton, now let into the south wall of the nave, is a carved panel on which is a recumbent animal under a semicircular arch. This may have formed the head of a former doorway. One of the commonest subjects on the tympana is a representation of the Agnus Dei. Only one example, and that an early one, remains in Yorkshire, viz. at Thwing over the south doorway (Fig. 2), "where the lamb is represented as a somewhat attenuated animal," facing east and holding the cross on the right forefoot. Some courses of shallow zigzag are carved on the semicircular portion. Over the south chancel doorway at Alne Church is a massive stone lintel on which, in the centre within a circular medallion, are carved two serpents in deadly combat; on either side outside the circle is a bird holding the border with beak and claws. Within smaller medallions in the upper corners is on the west a lion, on the east (?) an eagle, and it is possible all the evangelistic emblems may have been portrayed. Below the lion is a rose.

Perhaps the most curious is that at Danby Wiske, where the carving is exceedingly rude, though not necessarily on that account of very early date (Fig. 3).

"A large figure in the centre is presenting a square object, presumably a book, with his left hand, to a smaller figure holding out his right hand to receive it, while another personage stands on the right of the central figure. In Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* it is asserted that this subject represents Earl Alan and Copsi and his man Landric. This interpretation, however, seems hardly feasible. It was thought that it might be an example of the subject of Christ presenting a key to St. Peter and book to St. Paul, as we find on the tympanum at Siddington, above the doorway at Elstow, and formerly in a painting of the Norman period at Westmeston in Sussex, but a close examination of this sculpture at Danby Wiske failed to reveal any trace of a key, and further seemed to prove that the personage to the right of the central figure was a female. Can the subject be intended to commemorate some grant made to the church?"

In the York Museum is preserved a tympanum found in a cellar near the cathedral.

"On it is sculptured a recumbent figure breathing out its soul, and three arge winged demons contending for its possession. At a time when the

Fig. 2.—Thwing, South Doorway.

Fig. 3.—Danby Wiske, South Doorway.

fear of death was constantly in the minds of the people, such a representation would, no doubt, exercise its influence to promote more absolute obedience to the dictates of the Church."

The beautiful entrance to the refectory at Rievaulx Abbey, of very late transitional date with the tympanum cut out into a trefoil, will be described later on.

Some of the doorways are set within projecting masonry capped by a pediment, as, for instance, the south doorway of Stillingfleet and St. Margaret's Walmgate, York; of Garton-on-the-Wolds, which has been severely renovated; at Kilham, where the space within the pediment is ornamented with a series of cross-bars with circles on them and roses at the points of intersection. The cross-bars enclose panels on which are four-leaved flowers, and rings within circles. Below is a course of the star ornament, and below again of the chevron. At Kirkstall Abbey the great west portal has also a pediment above the arch, with some intersecting semicircular arches within the triangular portion. The west doorway of Nun Monkton Priory Church has also a pediment above, with pellets within a hollow along the triangular ridge, and terminating on either side on a small shaft with foliated capital. Above the arch is a trefoil-headed niche for an image. The magnificent portal at Adel, with an elaborately sculptured arch and pediment, will be specially described later on. The south doorway of North Newbald Church is set within projecting masonry, and above it is a vesica-shaped niche with, as a bordering, a course of interlaced work, then of chevron, and then of grooved lines. Within the niche is a figure of Christ seated, and richly vested, with left hand on the book of the Gospels, and right in the attitude of benediction.

The Norman porches are here, as elsewhere, comparatively rare. At Askham Bryan is a south porch, with very fine outer arch. The north porch of Selby Abbey is of late date. The north porch at Barton-le-Street has some very remarkable carvings, but is of rather patchwork character. The outer arch of the south porch at Sherburn in Elmete

appears to have been altered, but still has a variety of the zigzag, forming lozenges with pellets, &c. The outer arch of the porch at Goodmanham is Norman, but has also been altered.

We now come to the description of the principal doorways in Yorkshire, and among so many examples it is difficult to decide which are most worthy of special note. There are, of course, in a county of this magnitude and importance, distinctive features in the doorways, as in many other branches of art. There must, no doubt, have been special schools or centres of learning and refinement in the north of England from an early period, whence emanated the designs for those wonderful masterpieces of the skill of the mason, so many of which have fortunately survived to our day. The most interesting doorways are those of the St. Margaret's at York type, with several rows of medallions enclosing figure subjects and varied ornaments. No such elaborate portals, with very few exceptions, are found out of Yorkshire, and the variety of the symbolism employed makes it exceedingly difficult to interpret them successfully. Amongst these may be especially enumerated the principal entrances at Alne, Birkin, Brayton, Etton, Fishlake, Healaugh, Kirkburn, Riccall, Stillingfleet, Wighill, Bishop Wilton, and St. Denis, St. Lawrence, and St. Margaret, York. All these will, as far as possible, be hereafter described. Another very noticeable feature is the number of Yorkshire doorways with the beak-head and monster-head ornaments. There are at least forty examples in the county, ranging from early specimens at Shipton to very late ones at Old Malton and Easby. The beak-head ornament occurs more or less throughout England, and, next to Yorkshire, perhaps most commonly in the western midland counties. What the significance of these grotesque carvings may be has never been explained with certainty, but the suggestion that they represent the devil and his angels in the Parable of the Sower affords a probable solution, and their situation on

the doorways and chancel arches would be very appropriate as a warning to those who might be negligent in the performance of their religious duties. However that may be, this form of ornament seems especially to have commended itself to the favour of the architects in those austere times, and may still afford valuable teaching in this epoch of perhaps too great independence of thought in religious matters.

Of the ordinary mouldings and ornaments we find fair representations throughout the county. The zigzag, or chevron, is of very common occurrence; and we find every form of it, from the shallow-incised lines to the elaborate varieties at Selby and other late examples. The lozenge and star are of frequent occurrence, but the billet and cable are not common, and the frette only appears in two or three instances, though what is designated the diamond frette is more in evidence. The guilloche, or intersecting lines, is comparatively common, and varied kinds of labels, sometimes approaching tongues, are not rare. The saw-tooth and indented will often be noted, and early forms of foliage are constantly introduced. Some of the more elaborate doorways were, no doubt, enriched with colour, and traces of decoration in red have been noted on the medallions of the arches at Brayton, North Grimston, and St. Margaret's and St. Maurice's, York.

There are numerous doorways with plain arches, but these have, as a rule, chamfered angles to the arches and jambs, and are not, therefore, of early date. Indeed, there are very few Norman portals which can be ascribed to the eleventh century. The west doorway at Masham Church may belong to this period. It has a chamfered hoodmould, two outer orders, each with a hollow and bold angle roll, a plain inner order, and chamfered abacus. There are two shafts to the outer orders with zigzag and lozenge ornament on the capitals. The west doorway at Hovingham is also very massive and early, with a groove and very bold roll in arch, and plain inner order, massive chamfered abacus,

one solid shaft on each side to the outer order, with a rude attempt at a capital. Similar doorways occur at Sinnington.

As has been stated, the examples of arches with the zigzag ornament are very numerous. An early instance occurs on the south chancel doorway at Salton. There we see the alternate billet on the hoodmould, and four lines of shallow incised zigzag on the flat face of the arch and star on the abacus. At Cayton and Fridaythorp the arches have three orders, all ornamented with varied zigzag; and at Goodmanham and Scawton are several rows of the same chevron moulding. At Husthwaite is a triple row of billet on the hoodmould, and three courses of zigzag on the arch. At Helmsley the south doorway, one of the few portions of the original Norman church which has been preserved, is very fine, with four recessed orders. All have the zigzag on face and soffit, those on the outer order forming lozenges on the angle. The chevrons on the faces of the three inner orders are very acutely pointed. The abacus is grooved and chamfered. The three outer shafts on each side have been renewed, but some of the capitals are old, with varied scalloping. The inner order has engaged respond shafts with bunch foliage on the capitals.

The south doorway at Kilham is also very fine, with large, well-carved arch and a profusion of the zigzag ornament. It has a hoodmould enriched with the zigzag and six recessed orders, all having rows of the zigzag, viz. on the outer order a single row, on the next triple, on the next double, on the next triple, on the next single, and quadruple on the soffit, and on the inner double, and a double row on each side of the lozenge on the angle. The abacus is mainly plain, but one portion has interlaced work and wheels. On the capitals are some small figures within medallions, and varied ornamentation. The carving on the pediment above has already been described. At Kirk Bramwith the arch has three reveals, with a series of chevrons set horizontally on the outer order, then a row of grotesque beak-heads, very excellent examples, on a roll, and some incised courses of

zigzag on the inner order. When visited in 1878, this arch was almost concealed by the ivy.

The Church of Garton-on-the-Wolds has been drastically restored, but still exhibits very fine specimens of Norman work. The west doorway has a pattern of semicircles, star, and double billet on the hoodmould, then three recessed orders, each with several varied rows of zigzag, and then, on inner order, a hollow and roll moulding both on the face and soffit. On the abacus, which is continued as a string-course north and south, is the star ornament. There are three nook shafts and an inner engaged respond shaft on each side, all with early scalloped capitals. The south doorway looks very new, and is set within projecting masonry and with pediment above. It is very similar in its details to the western doorway.

At North Newbald are four very excellent Norman doorways, in addition to one in the interior, viz. on north and south of nave, and on north and south of the transepts. The south doorway (Fig. 4) is very large, and set in projecting masonry, with the niche and figure above, which have already been described. The arch has five recessed orders; the outer is plain, the next has a very boldly carved cable, the next a hollow and roll, the next two or three courses of zigzag, and the inner is plain with four engaged roll mouldings on the soffit. The grooved and chamfered abacus is continued east and west as a string-course. There are three detached shafts, with varied scroll foliage on the capitals, and double engaged respond shafts to the inner order. On the western capital is beautifully carved scroll foliage, and an animal in the midst of it devouring one of the branches. The north doorway has a plain outer order and jambs and three more reveals. On the outer is a row of lozenges enclosing nail-heads on the angle, on the next several rows of zigzag, and on the inner two half rolls on the soffit. The abacus is massive, grooved, and chamfered, and continued east and west as a string-course. There are two detached shafts and a respond on each side, all with

early foliated capitals. The south transept doorway has four recessed orders, all with varieties of the zigzag on face and soffit, except the inner, which has an engaged roll on the soffit. The abacus is similar to that of the other doorways. There are two nook shafts and a respond on each side, some of the capitals being enriched with foliage, others plain scalloped. Most of them have cable bands below. The north transept doorway has an outer row of lozenges enclosing nail-heads, then several rows of zigzag, and a double engaged roll on the soffit of the inner order. The capitals are foliated.

The west doorway at Campsall Church has been much restored. It has a hoodmould and four recessed orders. There is a double row of nail-heads on the face and chamfer of the hoodmould, on the outer order shallow lozenges on face and soffit, forming lozenges on the angle; on the next a triple row of zigzag; on the next several small and one large row of zigzag with nail-heads at the angle; and on the inner a plain half round on face and soffit, and smaller half round on either side of that on soffit. The abacus has the quarter round. There are three nook shafts and one engaged inner shaft or respond on each side. The shafts are new, but the capitals with fluting are old. At East Ardsley the south doorway has on the hoodmould an unusual type of the chevron ornament; then come two courses of zigzag on face and soffit forming lozenges on the angle, and then a series of stars or saltires; the abacus is not chamfered. There are two capitals on each side, but the shafts are gone. The arch is filled up, and a smaller one inserted within it. At the Chapel of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Ripon, is a mutilated south doorway with a hoodmould chamfered off both above and below, having intersecting zigzag lines forming lozenges on the main portion and double billet on the lower chamfer; on the arch is a bold zigzag, almost entirely hacked away. Part of the abacus only remains, with the intersecting zigzag

Fig. 4.—North Newbald, South Doorway.

Fig. 5.—Askham Bryan, South Porch.

lines, and one scalloped capital almost concealed in the wall. A fifteenth-century doorway has been inserted within the Norman one. There are good specimens of the zigzag on the doorways at Austerfield, Conisbrough, Edlington, and Thorpe Salvin, which will be described later on. At some of the abbeys, Selby, St. Mary's York, Kirkstall, &c., are fine examples. These are all of late date, and will be referred to hereafter. At Askham Bryan the outer arch of the south porch is very fine, and of somewhat late date (Fig. 5). It is described in Sheahan and Whellan's *History and Topography of the City of York, &c.*, i. 652, as "exhibiting three series of chevrons and counter chevron mouldings, which rest on ornamental columns." There is a pediment above it with a chamfered moulding to the ridge. On the hoodmould of the arch is a small half round, and larger engaged roll, then on the outer order a hollow and small roll, and bold chevrons enclosing trefoil leaves, except three at the apex, which enclose pellets, on face and soffit of the arch, their points just touching on the angle. Next comes a series of deeply cut lozenges on face and soffit, meeting and forming another row of deeply cut lozenges on the angle. There are trefoil leaves within the outer chevrons. Then comes a course of bold chevron or indented enclosing leaves on face and soffit, their points meeting at the angle, and forming a series of very deeply undercut lozenges intersected by a roll. There are two shafts on each side with varied foliage on the capitals, and two fir-cones below the outer on west side. To the inner order are large scalloped capitals and a series of pellets down the angle of the jamb. The abaci are grooved and chamfered, the outer portion on each side having the half-round moulding.

Very rich specimens of the lozenge ornament remain on doorways at Sinningthwaite Nunnery and Kirkham Priory, which will be described later on. At Thorpe Salvin is a fine south doorway of late date (Fig. 6). It has an outer row of a sort of elliptic arched ornament, then a row of

pellets, then a roll having on each side the beaded zigzag enclosing flowers, and having a row of beads on the inner side, then a course of lozenge with deeply undercut lozenges on either side, and beyond a band of zigzag enclosing leaves or flowers; on the inner course of lozenges are pellets. There is an inner row of the same elliptic arched, and pellets and a keel-shaped order. The abacus is chamfered and ornamented with pellets. There are two main shafts on each side, the outer capitals having early foliage, the inner scalloped with beaded inverted semicircles enclosing leaves above. A cable band is introduced below each. There is an engaged keel-shaped shaft to the inner order with foliated capital and cable band below.

To the Norman crypt at York Minster have been two very fine and ornate doorways, but, unfortunately, only the jambs remain. The south doorway had three orders, the two outer having ornamental jambs, viz. with the beaded dovetail enclosing a fir-cone, and with the beaded frette or embattled, the inner order, with the exception of the base of a shaft, having disappeared. Of the north doorway only the jambs remain; on the outer is a central and side engaged roll with lines of beading, and set on this alternately beaded lozenges and circles. The middle order has a shaft ornamented with rich beaded cable formed by a beaded roll moulding twining round the main shaft, as at Pittington and elsewhere. There is an angle roll to this order. The base only of the shaft of the inner order remains.

The south doorway of Wold Newton is very interesting. On the main face and chamfer of the hoodmould is a series of labels, then on the arch fourteen flat voussoirs, on which are carved varied stars, and on the west one sections of concentric circles. There is a roll moulding at the angle. This rests on a richly carved abacus with, on the west side, the lozenge cable and saw-tooth ornaments; on east side, the embattled or square billet, lozenge, star, and nail-head. On the upper part of the outer jamb on west is a large bird within a square frame, and in a

Fig. 6.—Thorpe Salvin, South Doorway.

Fig. 7.—Etton, West Doorway.

corresponding position on the east jamb, also within a square frame, a large wheel with eight spokes. There is one shaft on each side with capital having some shallow scalloping and two eight-rayed stars on each face, and a cable band below. The sculptured tympanum, with its somewhat obscure symbolical carving, has already been described.

Mention has already been made of the large number of arches in this county with the remarkable moulding generally designated the beak-head or monster-head. There are probably more examples of this in Yorkshire than in the rest of England, and larger specimens than can be found elsewhere. In some instances they occur only on the arch, in others they are continued down the jambs to the ground, but always with the beaks attached to a roll moulding. In a few cases, as at Barton-le-Street, there is a beak-head on the angle of one of the capitals.

One of the earliest doorways with this scheme of ornamentation is that on the south side of Shipton Church. Here, besides a partly destroyed roll moulding, are thirteen very rudely carved beak-heads on a roll with chamfered abacus and two shafts with early scalloped capitals. At St. George's Church, Doncaster, after the fire, we read: "From the mass of ruins, as well as out of the masonry of the tower piers, in which they had been used as old materials, the author himself collected several portions of a doorway with very fine and bold beak-heads."[1] At Easby Abbey we find two rows of twenty-four and sixteen respectively; at Salton also two rows, the outer with sixteen, the inner with twenty-seven pairs arranged beak to beak. At Adel and Edlington we find the beak-heads round the arch and down the jambs to the ground. There are good examples of this ornamentation on doorways which will not be specially described: at Ampleforth (11), Ayton, East (9), Burnby (19 new), Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds (13), Kirkby

[1] Rev. J. E. Jackson, *Ruined Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster*, p. 17 (note).

Wiske (11), Rossington (18), Sowerby (15), Thorpe Arch (15), Amotherby (2), Goldsborough (14), Spofforth (23), also at Osmotherley, Snainton, Swinton, and Easington, and doubtless more can be enumerated.

The south doorway at Austerfield Chapel is a very fine one. It appears to have had an outer row of beaded semi-circles, but these are now concealed by the porch. On the next order is a course of the zigzag with nail-heads within the chevrons, and on the inner a row of seventeen beak-heads. The abacus is plain chamfered. The shafts and capitals on each side are massive, with scallop, zigzag, and pellet ornaments. The curious tympanum has already been referred to.

The south doorway at Bardsey has an outer row of seventeen large beak-heads, some beaded, on a roll, then a course of zigzag on face and soffit of the arch, forming sunk lozenges on the angle, and with foliage within the chevrons on the face of the arch only. It has a plain inner order and jambs, grooved and chamfered abacus, two shafts on each side, the outer, on west, new, with varied scalloping on the capitals. There has doubtless been a hoodmould, and probably more archivolt mouldings. Some fragments of an arch are preserved under the tower, (*a*) with saw-tooth and billet ornament, (*b*) very large, with zigzag, foliage, a rose, &c., which are very likely portions of this doorway.

At Edlington Church is a very fine south doorway with, on the hoodmould, which terminates on two heads on either side, a row of fourteen beaded circles enclosing roses, a course of billet on the upper side with leaves between. On the outer order is a row of thirty-three beak-heads, carried round the arch and down the jambs to the ground. These beak-heads are very large, and in excellent preservation. On the inner order is a double band of zigzag, also continued to the ground; the inner row has the fir-cone or ornamental pellet within the chevrons. There are no capitals or imposts.

The west doorway of Etton Church (Fig. 7) has a double row of billet on the hoodmould with head terminations. On the outer order is a row of nineteen ornamental labels grooved to look like tongues on a roll, except in the centre, where are two beaded circles one above the other enclosing foliage. Next comes a row of sixteen beak-heads on a roll, and then of nine beaded medallions enclosing foliage, and with tongues of foliage of the Stillingfleet type; also on the same order on each side, the third from the bottom being a circle enclosing a rose. The abacus is plain and chamfered. There are two shafts to the outer orders and an engaged shaft to the inner, with scalloped capitals, the two on the north side with zigzag band below. The south doorway at Fangfoss is set within a porch-like projection, and has been rather freely restored. It has a course of the indented on the hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the outer is a row of twenty-two irregularly shaped labels on an angle roll, all ornamented with various designs, foliage, cable, zigzag, guilloche, roses, &c. On the middle order are nineteen beak-heads on an angle roll, and on the inner order sixteen large dentils with sunk pointed arches between each. The abacus with rose ornament, and three shafts with varied carving on the capitals look quite modern.

At Barton-le-Street is some very remarkable carving on the arches of the north porch and doorway, though some parts of the work have been much renewed. The arch of the north porch is of patchwork character. There is a hoodmould with a small border of semicircles enclosing beads, and a series of subjects, &c.; starting from the west: (1) two birds devouring fruit, (2) a tree, (3) an animal, (4) St. Michael pressing the Cross into the mouth of the prostrate serpent, (5) two animals sitting up and facing each other, (6) Eve, (7) a figure with balances, (8, at apex) St. Peter with pastoral staff and keys, (9) another figure, (10) Adam, (11) a mermaid and the mystic fishes, (12) two animals on either side of a tree and another tree behind

them, (13) a large animal with beaded serpent's tail, (14) two animals. There are two reveals; on the outer order is the recessed and raised zigzag on the face, and raised zigzag and lozenge on the soffit; only the eastern portion is old. The inner order has bold zigzag with fir-cones within the chevrons on the face and half roll on the soffit. The abacus, shafts ornamented with the beaded cable, and scalloped capitals look new. To the inner order are a series of flat medallions, connected by an angle roll, down the jambs. The upper, on west, has the Agnus Dei, with Cross and banner and two angels; the others, seven in number, are all new. On the east side, the upper one, much worn, has an animal and beaded foliage; the next three are new; on the next are three birds and three beak-heads; on the next four heads and foliage on the angle; and on the lowest a head at the angle with foliage coming from the mouth.

The arch of the north doorway (Fig. 8) is also very elaborate, with two recessed orders. On the outer is a small beaded border and sixteen irregular voussoirs, on which are carved heads, animals, trees, and foliage. On the inner order is some rich interlacing scroll foliage, and a roll on the angle. The abacus, cable shaft, and capital to the outer order are new. To the inner order a beaded cable is carried down the angle of the jambs, and on each side are subjects carved on flat voussoirs. At the top on the east side is a bird on either face of the jambs; the next two voussoirs are new; then, on north face, two beaded circles enclosing foliage, on west face, an eagle and foliage; on next, on north, a female holding a branch and an animal in front of her (can this be the legend of St. Margaret?), on west, a lion with foliated tail and star round the border; on lowest, on north, Sagittarius, on west, interlaced scroll foliage. On the west jamb: on north, a figure holding (?) a spear, on east face, two monster heads with foliage from mouths; the next three are new. On the next, on east, a figure

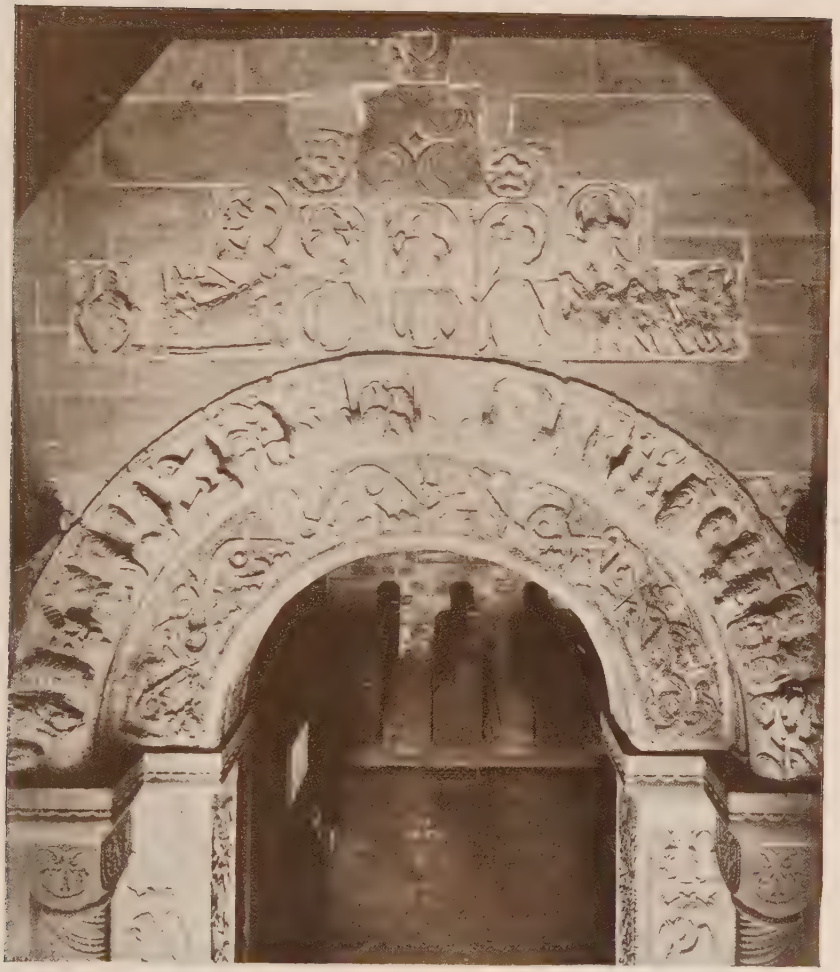

Fig. 8.—Barton-le-Street, North Doorway.

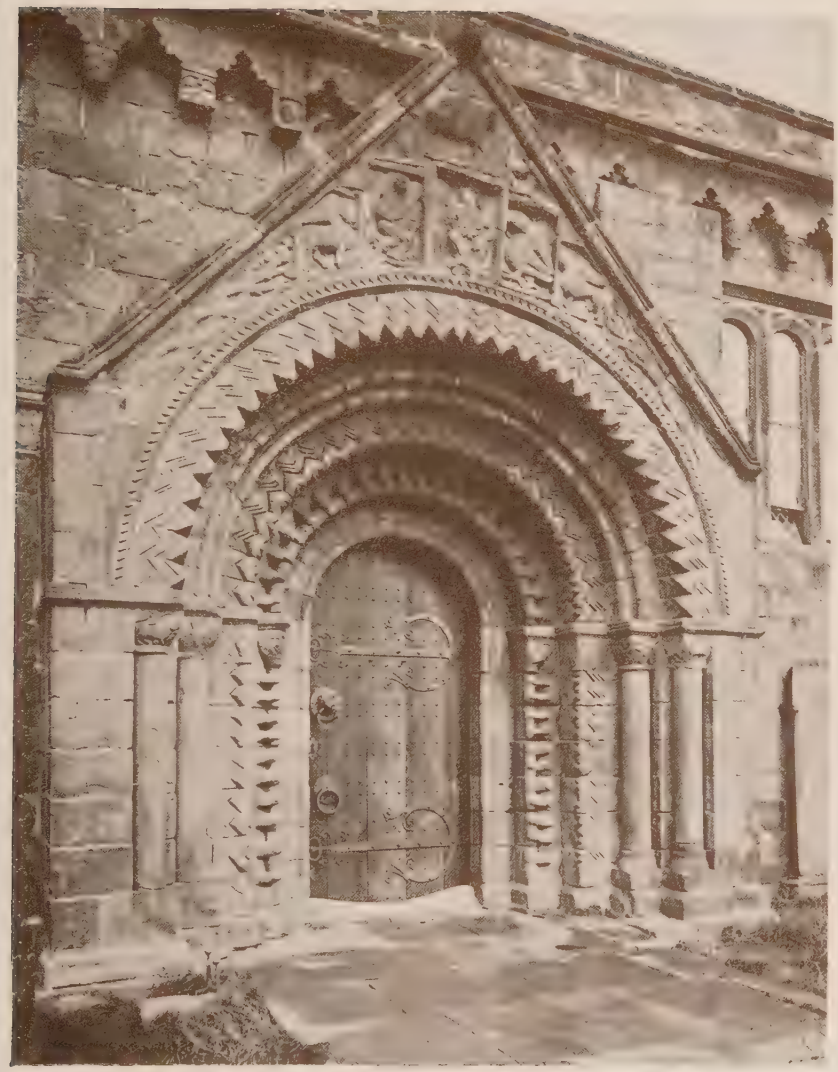

Fig. 9.—Adel, South Doorway.

riding an animal, perhaps Samson, or David and the lion, on the north, a beaded interlaced object; on lower, on east, a rose and cable, on north, a head. On the interior side of the doorway, within the nave, is a hoodmould ornamented with the alternate leaf pattern, with ram's head and human head termination; a roll moulding is carried round the arch and down the jambs. Above the arch on the exterior side are numerous fragments of sculpture, probably portions of this north or some other doorway; three voussoirs seem to represent three of the months with figures within double-beaded medallions, and there are two more with the upper half only of the subject; one figure carries a scythe, another has a wheatsheaf. On another medallion is a figure seated with patriarchal tiara, and holding a sword, within a beaded vesica. On two more stones is the story of the Nativity, viz. on one the Blessed Virgin and Infant Saviour in bed, and two guardian angels swinging censers; on the other three crowned figures, the Magi, and two with hoods, (?) the shepherds hastening to Bethlehem. There are two stones, each with a large rose and part of a cross coffin lid. These have all been inserted in their present situation, and no doubt more information can be obtained about them.

The noble south entrance at Adel Church (Fig. 9) is perhaps the finest and best known of the Yorkshire doorways. It is set within a porch-like projection with pediment above. It is of grand proportions, both as regards the height, breadth, and depth of the arch. It has a hoodmould and five recessed orders. The hoodmould is chamfered both ways with the indented ornament on the central portion. On the outer order are two courses of recessed and raised zigzag on the face, and one on the soffit, the points of the inner raised zigzags meeting and forming lozenges enclosing smaller lozenges on the angle; on the next order are two half-round mouldings; on the next a grooved zigzag and bold raised zigzag on the angle with a pellet within each chevron;

on the next a series of twenty beak-heads on a roll; on the inner is an engaged angle roll with groove on either side continued down the jambs without imposts to the ground. The abacus is grooved and chamfered, and continued as a string-course to the angles of the porch. There are shafts to the two outer orders; the ornamentation of the two next orders is continued down the jambs to the ground. There are eleven beak-heads on the east and ten on the west side to that order. All the four outer orders have richly carved capitals with animals, birds, and foliage. Along the triangular ridge of the pediment is carved a double half round with small quirk or pointed member between, and at the apex is a monster-head. Within the upper part of the pediment is the Agnus Dei, nimbed, and supporting the Cross and banner on right forefoot. It is facing eastwards. On the east side is a large pellet, and on the west a defaced object. Below and over the head of the arch, within an oblong panel, is a mutilated representation of our Lord seated and giving the Benediction. On each side, and also within oblong panels, are the evangelistic emblems: on the west, St. Matthew as an angel, nimbed, and holding a book, and St. Luke as the winged ox; on the east, St. John as the eagle with nimbus, and behind him St. Mark as the winged lion. On each side again, and filling up as it were the spandril spaces, is, on the west, a representation of the golden candlestick with twisted stem and four visible lights; on the east is a more uncertain object, perhaps the tree of life and spiritual knowledge. Both this doorway and the noble chancel arch are worthy of the attentive study of all lovers of Norman architecture. On the door is preserved a very interesting knocker of bronze of the same date as the arch. The details of the doorway and pediment are given by the Rev. H. T. Simpson in the *History of the Parish of Adel*, and an attempt is there made to interpret the symbolism.

We now come to the series of doorways containing

features which specially distinguish them from those of other parts of England. Most of these are very fine, and are set in porch-like projections to allow scope for the depth of the several orders into which the arches are divided. Many have six reveals or recessed orders, and cannot fail to impress the spectator by the variety and quaint character of their details, which invest them with a sort of barbaric splendour. Some of those already described are also of the special Yorkshire type, such as Etton and Fangfoss, but are not so distinctive as those to be now dealt with. They are to be found at Alne, Birkin, Brayton, Fishlake, Healaugh, Kirkburn, Riccall, Stillingfleet, Wighill, Bishop Wilton, and SS. Denis, Lawrence, Margaret, and Maurice, York.

The doorway from St. Maurice's Church is set up in a garden in Monkgate, and only a portion of it remains. It has an outer order of eleven beak-heads and three beaded tongues with foliage above on a roll, and an inner with eleven roses within beaded circles. It bore traces of colour. The north doorway of St. Lawrence's Church Extra-Walmgate, York (Fig. 10), of which an excellent illustration occurs in Brown's Etchings of St. Lawrence's Church, York, is very fine, the arch being within the porch-like projection, and having a string-course above it with the alternate leaf pattern on either side of a stem, starting from a mouth at each extremity. The arch has a hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the hoodmould is the leaf pattern within a semicircle, commonly called the antique, with a head at the apex, and a later head at each extremity. On the outer order is a row of single leaves on either side of a winding beaded stem with two dragons at the apex, a small cable band runs round below it, and there is an engaged roll on the angle. On the next order is a twining stem with foliage on either side, a dragon at the apex, and an engaged roll on the angle. On the next order are two beaded interlacing lines forming a series of medallions which enclose leaves, and with a dragon at each extremity.

The inner order is plain. The abacus is chamfered with the single leaves on either side of a twining stem on the upper, and part of the chamfered, portion, and interlacing scroll foliage on the remainder of the chamfered portion. The outer order rests on a pier on each side with engaged shaft to outer and inner angles and scalloped capitals much worn. There are two detached shafts to the two next orders, and two engaged jamb shafts with quirk between to the inner order. On the capital of the outer shaft on right is a large head at the angle. On one side is Sagittarius discharging an arrow at it; on the other side two figures, one naked, who seem to be grasping each other by the hand. On the next capital is a winged monster with one head and two bodies. The inner capitals are scalloped, a star being introduced on that on left. On the next, on left, is the contest between the Agnus Dei with the Cross and the Dragon, which has beaded body and tail. There is perhaps a figure between the combatants. On the next is beaded interlaced foliage and two animals. There are bands of roses, cable and zigzag below the capitals. This church has been pulled down, but the doorway has been preserved with the tower. The south doorway of St. Denis Walmgate, York (Fig. 11), partly within a projection, has a hoodmould and five recessed orders. The hoodmould is plain and chamfered. On the outer order is the alternate leaf pattern on either side of a twining stem, starting from a head at each extremity; on the next order is a row of twenty-six beak-heads, some quite worn away; on the next is an angle roll and zigzag on either side on the face and soffit of the arch; on the next are nineteen irregular circles with the tongues of foliage as at Stillingfleet. Some of the circles enclose leaves, others roses, others heads, and one a bird and animal fighting. On the inner order is a row of lozenges enclosing leaves, and double roll with quirk between on the soffit. The abacus has the quarter-round moulding. The inner shafts are engaged, the others are gone, plain piers now supporting the capitals; most of

Fig. 10.—York, St. Lawrence Extra Walmgate.

Fig. 11.—York, St. Denis Walmgate, South Doorway.

these are ornamented with foliage, on the second from the right is a man and animal, and on the third from the left a head with foliage coming from the mouth.

The south doorway of St. Margaret's, Walmgate, York (Fig. 12), has been somewhat drastically restored, but is still very interesting. It is set within the usual porch-like projection, there being a considerable space between the two inner orders, and is very deeply recessed with hoodmould and five reveals. There is a low pediment above. Admirable illustrations of it are given in Carter's *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, vol. ii. plates facing pages xxxi and xxxv., and in Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetusta*, York, plate xxiv., and elsewhere. It is supposed to have been brought from some other church. On the hoodmould are the signs of the zodiac and the symbols of the months, as on the font at Brookland in Kent, but somewhat irregularly arranged. The voussoirs have, no doubt, been shuffled about during some of the vicissitudes to which the arch has been subjected.

One or two of the subjects shown in Carter's drawing are not now decipherable, or have altogether disappeared. Starting from the west (left side) we have Aquarius, as a man holding an inverted bucket, (2) a two-headed figure seated, (3) pisces, the mystic fishes, (4) a man seated and warming himself at the fire, (5) a female seated and holding an inverted crozier in either hand (this has disappeared, and a bunch of foliage occupies its place), (6) Gemini, two figures holding hands, (7) a figure leading an animal (now gone), (8) two examples of the antique ornament, (9) Aries, (10) figure with spade, (11) Leo (now moved to 13), (12) antique, at the apex, (13) Cancer (now moved to 14), (14) figure lopping a tree (now 13), (15) Taurus, (16) a figure with bags, (17) Virgo, (18) a figure amongst vines, (19) a man holding a pair of balances, Libra (not now decipherable), (20) figure plucking grapes and with pig, (21) Scorpio, (22) figure with hatchet and pig, (23) Sagittarius, (24) a king seated at a table, (25) animal with goat's head and dragon's body and tail, Capricornus. On the outer order

is a twining stem with single leaves alternately on either side, and an engaged roll on the angle. On the next order are twenty-two monster-heads on an angle roll. Some have tongues of foliage, one a head in its mouth, another a double face; all are varied. On the next order is a row of nineteen monsters, &c., mostly within beaded medallions. Starting from the west we find: (1) a wyvern, (2) an animal biting, (3) ? an animal, not now discernible, (4) a man with umbrella-shaped shield, (5) a human head with two beaded bodies, (6) a centaur, (7) a dragon with smaller animal on its back, (8) a bunch of foliage, (9) a dragon holding a short sword, (10) at apex, a dragon, (11) two figures seated, (12) a dragon, (13) a dragon, (14), a goat blowing a horn, (15) female figure holding a branch in each hand, (16) a griffin, (17) a bunch of foliage and bit of beaded guilloche, (18) a griffin, (19) a goat. On the next order are fourteen grotesques, viz., from left side, a plain stone, then (1) a dragon biting a tree, (2) a man with drawn sword astride on a monster, (3) a centaur fighting a dragon, (4) a griffin, (5) two birds on either side of a tree, (6) a man fighting a bear or lion, (7) two dragons, (8) man riding on a monster and holding its tail up, (9) a bird, (10) a bird and animal fighting, (11) a man killing a lion, (12) a dragon and lion facing each other, (13) a goat and man facing each other, (14) a man riding an animal. All these are on an angle roll. One may wonder whether any special symbolism is intended in these two orders, or whether the several subjects are the outcome of the inventive genius of the mason who carved them. The inner order is much worn and has foliage on the face, and triple engaged roll on the soffit. On either side of the central roll are beaded circles bisected by the outer rolls and with foliage between. To the inner order are two engaged shafts with quirk between and beaded inverted trefoils on the capitals. The abacus is enriched with the antique, pellets, and scroll. There are shafts to the next orders, but to the outer are piers with double band

Fig. 12.—York, St. Margaret Walmgate, South Doorway.

of zigzag carried down them. The capitals have all been carved with figures, &c., but some have perished. On the outer, on left, may be the contest of St. George on foot and the Dragon. There are also various dragons, a merman, and on inner but one on right Æsop's fable of the Fox and the Crane. The whole is worthy of attentive study as an excellent example of the singular designs affected by the twelfth-century sculptors.

The south doorway of Alne Church (Fig. 13) has been moved about, but now probably occupies its original position. It has been badly restored. The outer order has nineteen voussoirs, but many of these are new, in a different kind of stone to the original ones, and probably not copies of those which were previously there. The series must have been a specially interesting one, as it comprised a representation of the mediæval bestiaries, the only instance of this subject on the doorways. Illustrations of the nine remaining original voussoirs are given by J. Romilly Allen, in his work on *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 347. Each subject is under a semicircular beaded arch, on which the name of the creature intended is, or has been, inscribed. On the left is a fox on its back and two birds approaching it, the name "vulpis" above. On the next, an animal attacking a dragon, name "panthera" above; then an eagle, with name "aquila" above; then an animal with leaf tongue, and name "hiena" above; then a bird on the bed of a sick man, and the name "caladri" above; next comes an animal biting a leaf, no name visible. The next eight voussoirs, with one mutilated exception, are new, with a cross, fan, sheaves, &c., carved on them. On the next is a dragon, no inscription visible; and then a male and female figure with flames around them, and name "Terobolem" above, to illustrate the two stones which produced fire. The next is effaced. On the next are two men in a boat, and the name "aspido" for the whale above. This, however, is not represented. On the lowest, on east, is a winged animal, a lion or a bull, without inscription.

This order is set on a course of the double cone moulding, with triple bands between each cone, a form of ornamentation rarely found out of East Anglia, though it occurs on the chancel arch of Helmsley Church in this county; there is beaded foliage on the soffit of this order. In the next order we find a series of fifteen beaded medallions enclosing animals, &c., viz., from left: (1) the Lamb and Cross, (2), (3), and (4) animals devouring foliage, (5) a bull, (6) a man killing an animal, (7) ? a tortoise, (8) and (9) new, (10) obliterated, (11) a bird, the pelican vulning its breast, (12) a lion, (13) an eagle, (14) a man killing a pig, (15) a dragon with goat's head. There is a roll to the inner order. The abacus on the right is ornamented with beaded and interlaced scroll foliage, a mermaid, and sea monster. On the capital is an inverted head with goat's horns, and beaded interlacing foliage coming from the mouth; below the shaft is another capital, each capital having a cable band below. On the left side the abacus is plain, but the capital is carved in similar fashion to that on right. There is an engaged jamb shaft to the inner order on each side.

The south doorway of Bishop Wilton Church has been restored. It has a hoodmould, and then an outer order with series of curious subjects, viz., a figure warming its hands, the Lamb and Cross, a knight on horseback, dragons, a lion blowing a trumpet, another lion playing the cymbals, the four Evangelists, the mystic fishes, Sagittarius shooting at a head, a man stabbing a lion, a monkey playing the horn, a coiled-up serpent, &c., some mixed up with interlaced foliage. On the next order is a row of twenty-one beak-heads on a roll. On the soffit is a double half-roll with beaded medallions, the intermediate spaces ornamented with foliage. There are deeply cut roses on the abacus, beaded foliage, semicircles, &c., on the capitals, and three main shafts and a double engaged inner one on each side, with chevron bands and beading on the bases.

At Healaugh the south doorway (Fig. 14) presents us

Fig. 13.—Alne, South Doorway.

with another very fine example. It has a hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the hoodmould is a course of bold zigzag with two smaller bands overlapping on either side. At the apex within an oblong frame is a figure seated, not nimbed, nor in the act of giving the benediction. He appears to be holding a book or some other object in the left hand. On the outer order is a row of twenty quaint objects on an angle roll; starting from left: (1) a bearded human head, (2) a head with foliaged tongue, (3) an animal with foliage coming out of the mouth, (4) a horned animal, (5) a bearded human head, (6) broken, ? two figures tumbling, (7) an animal, head downwards, (8) a woman also head downwards, (9) a group of three figures, viz. a man and woman, with smaller figure between them adoring, (10) at apex, a male and female figure seated, perhaps the Coronation of the Virgin, (11) a man and woman kneeling in adoration of the last subject, one perhaps holding a key, (12) a female figure, upside down, (13) a bird, (14) two figures, upside down, (15) a monster-head, with hands holding foliage, (16) a monster-head, (17) a bearded human head, with cross on forehead, (18) and (20) an animal with foliage coming from the mouth, and (19) a bearded human head. On the next order is a row of 28 beak-heads, on an angle roll, the beaks being pierced with small holes. On the inner order is a double engaged roll separated by a pointed member on the soffit. The abacus on the left side is ornamented below the outer order with interlaced scroll foliage, below the middle with a human figure and inverted tree, and below the inner with a head at the angle and foliage coming from the mouth. On east side, below the inner order, is a head, &c., similar to that on west; below the middle, a human figure and inverted tree; and below the outer two semicircles on each face. The capitals are elaborately carved, the outer on each side with a head with interlacing scroll foliage coming from the mouth at the angle, the middle on each side, with an animal on

either side of the tree, and the inner with a tree with interlacing scroll foliage. There are two bold shafts to the outer orders, and the double engaged shafts with pointed member between carried down the jambs of the inner order. The south chancel doorway is a good specimen of the transitional Norman style, with head at apex, keel-shaped moulding, and acanthus on capitals.

At Wighill the south doorway (Fig. 15) within a porch is also very fine and interesting. It has a hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the hoodmould is a band of zigzag on angle, flanked by two courses of smaller zigzag on either side. On the outer order is a row of twenty beak-heads on a roll, some being broader and larger than those at Healaugh. The next order has a chamfered edge with seventeen subjects on the chamfer, viz., from left: (1) an animal astride on a fish, (2) a dog and boar fighting, (3) a quaint human head, (4) an eagle, (5) an animal devouring foliage, (6) ? two birds fighting, (7) a quaint head, (8) a monkey's head, (9) a monster-head, (10) a beak-head and bird, (11) two beak-heads beak to beak, (12) a woman with goose on her shoulder, (13) a human head, (14) a man with branch on his shoulder, (15) a hare's head, (16) a man with axe fighting against a lion, (17) a dragon, mutilated. The inner order has two roll mouldings, with a pointed member between on the soffit, and carried down the jambs. The abacus is chamfered with the star ornament on the upper part. There are two shafts on each side to the outer orders. The capitals are all ornamented; on the outer, on east, is a mutilated figure, head downwards, holding a sword, and a male and female figure on either side; on the next a winged animal on the angle, with scroll foliage coming from the mouth, and on the inner on each side, varied foliage; on the middle, on west, oak leaves and acorns, and the antique ornament above, and on the outer a figure at the angle, slightly clad, with a male and female figure holding his hand on either side. On the east side the outer shaft

Fig. 14.—Healaugh, South Doorway.

Fig. 15.—Wighill, South Doorway.

has been cut away for the stoup, which appears to be of early date.

Another noble doorway of the distinctive Yorkshire type is that within a porch on the south side of Fishlake Church (Fig. 16). There is a tradition that this was brought from Roche Abbey, and it certainly is not now in its original situation. It is deeply recessed in four orders. It has on the outer order a series of thirteen large beaded medallions enclosing figure subjects, viz., from the left, two female figures each pushing a cross down the throat of a prostrate figure below her; on next four, pairs of figures seated or standing, then Christ and St. Peter, then a figure giving the benediction; on next five, pairs of figures seated, and on right two female figures pressing crosses into prostrate figures as on other side. The next course seems to allude to the sport of hunting. On the left are two human beings, one carrying a coffin, and a demon with rake below, then come four animals one behind the other advancing towards the apex of the arch. There is perhaps an altar, and the next animal on the east side has his paw on it, next comes an animal crouching down, then a hunter leading an animal, then two hounds, then a figure with sword or club in left hand and an animal by the right, and then foliage.

On the next order are two figures, the (?) Salutation in the centre, and a series of thirty-six heads of demons, human beings, some of soldiers, with leaves within a beaded frame below; on the inner order is beaded foliage, and the pointed member with quarter round on each side on the soffit. The abacus has the quarter round above the chamfered portion. The capitals are ornamented, on left: (1) two knights tilting, (2) a monk rowing in a boat, head at angle, foliage on east side, (3) Sagittarius and a Dragon; on inner left and right beaded foliage, then (2) a double-bodied griffin, (3) an angel and a demon fighting for a human soul, and (4) two dragons fighting—all the figures are mixed up with beaded foliage. There is a zigzag or cable band below each capital.

The south doorway (Fig. 17) of Birkin Church, when visited in 1878, was partly concealed by a porch and green with damp. It is a grand specimen, and is now within an open porch, and it is hoped, more properly cared for. There is an outer course of twenty-four medallions, enclosing various animals, dragons, concentric circles, &c.; at the apex is the Agnus Dei with Cross. On the soffit is the lozenge ornament. Then comes a course of raised and recessed zigzag with lozenge on the soffit; then a row of nineteen beak-heads (there is a blank space for one more) on an angle roll, the third, seventh, and sixteenth from the west is a bearded head. The inner order is plain, with double half-round and quirk between on the soffit. There are on each side three main shafts and an inner double shaft engaged to the jambs. On the abacus on west is a pattern of intersecting lines and of interlacing scroll foliage, on the inner portion on each side is a curious design of interlacing pointed ovals or vesicas, and then on east side beaded scroll, interlacing foliage, and reticulated ornament. On the outer capital on each side is a double row of the embattled "tau" pattern, and on the inner, on east, two dragons above foliage. The others have semicircles, acanthus, and other varieties of foliage.

The south doorway (Fig. 18) of Brayton Church was till 1878 within a porch which cut through the head of the arch, but fortunately a new porch has been built, and this noble portal is no longer partially concealed. The arch is very lofty, being nearly 11 feet high to the apex of the inner order. It has a hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the hoodmould is a double quarter-round and hollow. On the outer order is, on an angle roll, a row of thirty-five very quaint heads, the majority being beak-heads, but there are also three human heads, two hares, and one bird. On the next order is a series of beaded medallions enclosing various figures on a flat surface, viz., from west: (1) a lion and dog fighting, (2) foliage with a man and dragon, (3) two lions fighting, (4) a knight on horseback, (5) and (6) two knights

Fig. 16.—Fishlake, South Doorway.

Fig. 17.—Birkin, South Doorway.

tilting, (7) a rose with beaded concentric petals, (8) vesica-shaped, the subject uncertain, (9) the Agnus Dei with Cross, (10) a hunter, (11) dog and boar fighting, (12) a female figure, (13) Sagittarius, (14) female figure with palm, (15) defaced, (16) a man astride of a lion—Samson or David, and (17) a dragon. On the soffit is a band of lozenges enclosing pellets. On the next order is a course of raised and recessed zigzag with lozenges enclosing fir-cones on the soffit. The inner order is plain with the usual double half-round and quirk between on the soffit. The abacus is chamfered, the upper part only being richly carved, with angle heads, having foliage coming from the mouth, a fan pattern, and beaded guilloche. There are three nook shafts to the outer orders terminating on a plinth about 18 inches above the ground, and double engaged shaft to the inner order. The capitals are ornamented with foliage, one on west has a head with foliage coming from its mouth, and animals feeding on it, another on east has two figures, one being St. Peter with key, the other probably St. Paul with book, under arches. There are three votive crosses on the jambs. Traces of colour were found on some of the medallions.

An equally fine doorway is that within the south porch (Fig. 19) of Riccall Church. The arch has a hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the hoodmould, very irregularly spaced, are fifteen beaded medallions enclosing roses. On the outer order is a row of small pellets, and then of twenty-four beak-heads on a roll, all in excellent preservation. On the next order are sixteen curious figures, partly carved on an angle roll, viz., from left: (1) two heads, one crowned, with foliage coming from the mouths, (2) a man seated with his legs crossed, (3) a large head with foliated tongue and another head, (4) a dragon, (5) a lion curled up, (6) a figure observing it, (7) a bearded head, (8) a man in beaded costume, probably a bishop, (9) a figure side-ways, (10) a monster swallowing a man, (11) a male figure in front of a seated one, (12) a female holding a palm or

sceptre, (13) a soldier with battle-axe and large shield, (14) a bearded head, (15) a wolf biting a stalk, and (16) an inverted tree. On the inner order is a course of very small inverted semicircles, and then a series of curious figures, viz., from west: (1) the contest between St. Michael and Satan, (2) a serpent twined round a tree, and perhaps Adam and Eve, (3) a man holding some object, (4) a female, (5) another female with two tails, a mermaid, (6) at apex, a dove descending, (7) large lion with foliated tail, (8) an animal playing the harp, (9) a goat dancing, (10) beaded circle and geometrical pattern, (11) beaded intersecting semicircles enclosing foliage. On the soffit is a row of pellets in a hollow, and a half-round moulding. The abacus is chamfered with quarter round on the angle. There are detached shafts to the two outer orders, and double engaged half shafts to the inner order. The capitals are enriched with carving, viz. the outer on left with foliage, the next with a head and interlaced foliage, the inner with plain scalloping, the inner on right with beaded inverted semicircles, the next with a head and a figure adoring it on either side, St. Peter with keys being on the left and St. Paul with book on the right, the outer with a head having three crosses above and interlaced foliage on either side.

Perhaps the finest example of the special Yorkshire type is the south doorway (Fig. 20) of Stillingfleet Church. This is set within a porch-like projection and is deeply recessed, with a hoodmould and five reveals. On the hoodmould is a hollow and small engaged angle roll. On the outer order are twenty-seven sculptured figures. Twenty-two of these are leaves and varied foliage within beaded semicircles, and with a kind of foliaged tongue on an angle roll; the other five show: (1) to left of apex, a human head with foliated tongue, (2) a beak-head, (3) a tree, (4) a rose within a beaded circle and foliage below, (5) two monster-heads with foliage from mouths set on the roll below. On the next order is a course of bead, and

Fig. 18.—Brayton, South Doorway.

Fig. 19.—Riccall, South Doorway.

thirty-six beak-heads, some in pairs on an angle roll. On the next is a band of zigzag enclosing foliage within the chevrons on face and soffit of the arch, and forming lozenges on the angle; on the next is zigzag on face and soffit, and lozenges enclosing nail-heads on the angle. On the inner order is a series of studded ornaments, viz., from left: (1) a head, (2) a beaded circle enclosing a rose, (3) an animal with foliated tail, (4) a tree, (5) an animal devouring fruit, (6) a large head and an animal below, (7) a beak-head, (8) a crowned head, (9) a bird or dragon above two animals, (10) two heads and foliage, (11) a wheel enclosing intersecting lines, (12) a head with another head in its mouth, (13) two beak-heads, (14) two human heads between two monster-heads, and (15) a rose within a beaded circle. A band enclosing beads, as on the outer course but one, runs round above the sculptures, and there are pellets within a hollow on the soffit. The abacus is grooved with quarter-round on angle. There are detached shafts to the four outer orders, and double engaged shafts to the inner order. The capitals are all ornamented with varied scalloping, inverted trefoils, and scroll foliage, in three instances coming from the mouth of a head at the angle; on two are animals amidst foliage. There is a beaded or cable band below each. The door is very ancient, the ironwork being probably Norman. There are quaint figures of Adam and Eve, a Viking ship, and serpents on it.

The last doorway of this series, though slightly differing in its character from the others, is the very interesting south portal (Fig. 21) of Kirkburn Church. It has a hood-mould and three recessed orders. On the hoodmould we find a series of rather quaint sculptures, viz., from left: (1) a long-necked animal, (2) some small beaded circles and a beaded oval, (3) two fishes with their mouths joined, (4) an animal like a weasel, (5) a dragon, (6) two cats, (7) an animal, perhaps a horse; (8) at the apex, a recumbent figure, (9) a large dragon, (10) three birds pecking two, one, and three apples respectively, (11) two

animals plucking fruit, (12) two birds devouring an apple, (13) a bunch of foliage, (14) two foxes. On the outer order is a row of twenty-two beak-heads on an angle roll; then a course of the zigzag on face and soffit, forming deeply cut lozenges on the angle, and with various interlaced lines, leaves, circles, a bird, serpent, &c., within the chevrons. The inner order is segmental headed, with several courses of zigzag on the face, and recessed and raised zigzag, and a band of raised lozenges on the soffit. Between this and the previous order are several flat voussoirs filling in the space, with the sawtooth on the central one, and zigzag, square billets, wavy lines, a head, and other curious designs on the others. The abacus is massive and richly carved with the sawtooth, scroll with interlacing semicircles and star below, then a scroll with star and grooved semicircles on the chamfered portion, then on right a pattern of hollow lozenges and triangles and foliage and open rings on the chamfered portion below, then chequy and lozenge with indented below, then interlaced pattern and lozenges containing stars and ovals alternately below, then a head and perhaps a bird. The capitals are also elaborately carved with varied foliage, the cable, a kind of double C (ↃC), ovals, an eight-rayed star within a circle, scallops, and a sort of fern-leaf pattern sculptured on them. There are three shafts on each side, the inner as usual engaged to the jamb. The north doorway is also good, with a roll moulding in arch, plain tympanum, and with varied star, lozenge, and zigzag on the abacus.

It is difficult to assign an exact date to these typical Yorkshire examples. They do not appear to be of early character, and some probably are late and verging on the transitional period. For instance, at Stillingfleet is a north doorway with the dogtooth ornament and other late characteristics, which will shortly be referred to. At Healaugh the south chancel doorway is also late, with the keel-shaped moulding and hollow on either side to the outer order. It may perhaps be safely asserted that they were constructed

Fig. 20.—Stillingfleet, South Doorway.

Fig. 21.—Kirkburn, South Doorway.

between the years 1150 and 1170, a period of great religious activity in the county, when many of the great monasteries, of which we fortunately have still such magnificent remains, had recently been founded.

We find a considerable number of transitional Norman doorways throughout the county constructed between the years 1170 and 1210. With very few exceptions they retain the semicircular arch associated with mouldings commonly found in buildings of the Early English style. This is particularly noticeable in the monasteries, to which attention will be specially directed, as it is fair to assume that here we may reasonably look for the inventive genius which worked out the design and produced the first specimens of the succeeding styles, and assign an earlier date to examples there than we can to corresponding ones in ordinary parish churches. Some few have the dogtooth ornament, a special characteristic of Early English work, while others have the keel-shaped moulding, which also indicates a period late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century. Several exhibit the later form of abacus and the more advanced character of the foliage on the capitals.

In the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 436, is a reference to the doorway at the west end of the north aisle of Cawood Church, "consisting of a lofty semicircular arch supported on tall shafts with capitals verging very much towards Early English." So again, on page 320 of the same volume, we read that, at St. Martin's Church, Micklegate, York, "on the north side is a doorway of transition from Norman to E.E. with nail-heads in the head." At Ferry Fryston the south doorway has the nail-head on the hoodmould and foliated capitals; while at Hatfield the west doorway is fine and lofty, with nail-heads on the hoodmould, which terminates on the heads of animals, three plain recessed orders and shafts, the outer keel-shaped, and foliated capitals, one having pellets between the foliage. The south doorway is plain, with a hoodmould enriched with a double row of nail-heads and the billet ornament.

At Bawtry, Long Marston, and St. Mary, Bishop-Hill Senior, York, are late doorways, with the keel-shaped moulding in arch and foliated capitals. At Hedon the south transept doorway is a very late example of the semicircular arch, with a roll and kind of diamond frette on the hoodmould, and three recessed orders with the keel-shaped moulding. It has the late form of undercut abacus with banded shafts and varied stiff-leaved foliage on the capitals. The south doorway at Huntington has plain arch, one shaft on each side, and flat acanthus on the capitals. The south doorway of Filey Church is a large and fine specimen, with hollow on the chamfered portion of the hoodmould, and four recessed orders with roll and keel-shaped mouldings. There are detached shafts to the three outer orders and engaged shaft to the inner order, all with a late form of capital. The Rev. J. Fawcett, in his *Church Rides in the Neighbourhood of Scarborough*, p. 168, states that "in the centre of the arch has been an effigy or figure, probably of St. Oswald, the patron saint of the church." This no longer remains. The south doorway of Conisbrough Church is an ornate example of the transitional period, with a hoodmould having four-leaved roses of the dogtooth type in a hollow, and three recessed orders; on the outer is a small half-round, and a keel-shaped moulding on the angle with hollow on either side; on the middle is the raised zigzag on the angle and raised zigzag on either side, with a hollow between the angle and outer zigzag order; the inner order is plain, with chamfered edge to arch and jambs. There is a hollow and roll on the abacus, and two shafts with bunch foliage on the capitals.

At Great Driffield the north and south doorways have dogtooth on the hoodmould, keel-shaped mouldings, and foliated capitals; the south chancel doorway has a row of leaves of an uncommon type on the hoodmould, which terminates in monster-heads, a hollow, filleted, and keel-shaped order in arch, and stiff-leaved foliage on the capitals. The north doorway at Stillingfleet has the dogtooth on the

hoodmould, then a double row of zigzag on face and soffit of the arch, forming lozenges on the angle, which enclose a series of fir-cones, pellets, and one head, all being continued down the jambs without imposts to the ground. The south doorway of Bossall Church has four reveals, with the keel-shaped on the angle of the two outer and the roll on the angle of the two inner orders. There have been four shafts on each side with acanthus on the capitals. A band of the dogtooth ornament is carried down the jambs between the shafts. The doorway now forming the entrance to the almshouses in Bootham, York, is a very interesting example of this period. It has two rows of dogtooth on the hoodmould, then another course of dogtooth on the arch and carried down the jambs to the ground, then a hollow, and on angle of inner order, another course of dogtooth, and roll on the soffit.

The south doorway of St. William's Chapel, once existing on the bridge at York, but, alas! now pulled down, must have been an unusually elegant specimen of very late Norman workmanship, if we may judge by the fragments still remaining in the York Museum, and the beautiful drawing by Halfpenny in the *Fragmenta Vetusta*. The arch is recessed in three orders. On the outer is a beaded band of the zigzag of the peculiar type found at Selby, with an additional series of single chevrons, each chevron enclosing a pellet. There is also a course of beading and a roll at the angle. To this order are two engaged shafts with foliage to the bell-shaped capitals and undercut rounded abacus. On the middle order are beaded oval medallions, interlacing so as to form an irregular chain on an angle roll, which is continued without impost to the ground. On the inner order are bold, deeply-cut lozenges on face and soffit, the latter enclosing roses and leaves. To this order are coupled shafts on each side, the outer on east having a fillet band down it. There is flat foliage on the capitals and rounded undercut abacus. The abacus and capitals are quite of thirteenth-century design, but the

mouldings of the arch are excellent though late Norman. The chain ornament is comparatively rare.

The pointed transitional doorways are uncommon in Yorkshire. There are two or three plain examples at St. Leonard's Hospital at York. At Steeton Chapel, now taken down, the west doorway had the indented on the hoodmould and two reveals; on the outer order is the keel-shaped, on the inner a roll with hollow on either side. The abacus is undercut, and of the late type. There have been shafts with foliated capitals to the outer order; the inner order has the roll moulding on the arch and down the jambs to the ground.

Many fine examples remain amidst the beautiful monastic ruins for which Yorkshire is so justly renowned. Almost all are of late date, but still retain the old semicircular arch, though at Fountains, Kirkstall, and elsewhere, we find them associated, and no doubt coeval with arcades of pointed arches, as in so many other instances, the pointed arch having been adopted for the structural work, while the round arch was retained in the doorways and other ornamental portions.

The grimy but beautiful ruins of Kirkstall Abbey are almost entirely the remains of work executed in the second half of the twelfth century. In the cloister court we find a large number of semicircular headed doorways, opening to the various domestic buildings of this once important monastic institution. Most of these are comparatively plain with roll mouldings in arch, shafts, and scalloped capitals. The two main arches opening to the chapter-house are the most important, with hoodmould and three recessed orders. A continuous roll moulding, terminating on a monster-head above the capital on south side, forms the dripstone to the arch. On the outer order is the half-round on face and keel-shaped on the angle, to the middle is a hollow and bold angle roll, and to the inner triple engaged roll. The abacus is chamfered. There have been shafts to each order, but most of these have

disappeared. The capitals are scalloped. Four fine doorways still open to the nave of the church, and there is a smaller one to the north transept. The south-east doorway from the cloister is lofty and fine, with the half-round string-course carried as a hoodmould round the arch, and three recessed orders, the two outer with an angle roll moulding, the inner with triple engaged roll. The chamfered abacus has the half-round on upper portion. The capitals are large, with varied scalloping and fluting. The outer shafts are gone; to the inner order are three shafts engaged to the jambs. On the interior side is a small roll with billets on either side on the hoodmould, and an engaged roll with a kind of fillet band on it on the arch. The exterior arch of the south-west doorway is very similar in its mouldings. On the interior side is a double row of billet on the hoodmould, and a roll moulding in arch and jambs. The great west doorway is very fine, with the half-round string-course forming the hoodmould, and five recessed orders. The two outer and two inner have varied forms, sizes, and sections of the roll moulding; the middle is enriched with a triple course of the out-turned zigzag. The abacus and capitals are similar to those on the south doorways. All the shafts to the outer orders are gone. Double engaged shafts with pointed member between, remain attached to the jambs supporting the inner order. Above the doorway is a triangular pediment with keel-shaped on the angles, which are supported on lofty shafts, and within the pediment are three semicircular interlacing arches, with five shafts and scalloped and fluted capitals. The north doorway (Fig. 22), now walled up, has also had a pediment above, but this has been mainly destroyed. It is also a grand specimen of late Norman work. It has an outer order of very bold frette or embattled carried round the arch and down the jambs to the ground, and three recessed inner orders. On the outer is a bold angle roll, on the next a triple row of out-turned zigzag, and on the inner

the triple engaged roll on the soffit and attached to the jambs. The shafts to the outer orders are now gone, but the capitals remain with fluted and scalloped ornament.

At Fountains Abbey we also find a large number of late semicircular headed arched doorways. Two or three are of an earlier type than the rest. In no case can we discover any of those ornaments so common at this period, but a severe simplicity, no doubt in accord with the sentiments of the founders, characterises the whole of the buildings. The great west doorway of the church is of grand dimensions, and it has a hoodmould and six recessed orders; but the roll, varied in size and character, is the only moulding employed. In some instances the keel-shaped is also introduced, and this occurs in the very fine arches forming the entrances to the chapter-house and refectory. Another very late but more ornate doorway is the south entrance of the Church of Jervaulx Abbey. This is much mutilated, but it has several recessed orders, and a course of small dogtooth in the arch and larger dogtooth down the jambs. The abacus and capitals are quite of the Early English style.

At Old Malton Priory Church the arch of the western entrance (Fig. 23) is a fine specimen of transitional work. Like those already mentioned, it is semicircular and deeply recessed with a hoodmould and five reveals. It is set within a porch-like projection. On the hoodmould is a groove and small roll. On the outer order is the keel-shaped on the angle and a band of dogtooth in a hollow on either side, on the next double keel-shaped, on the next a very beautiful example of the diamond frette, on the next double keel-shaped, and on the inner the keel-shaped on the angle and band of dogtooth on each side. The abacus is undercut. The shafts to the four outer orders are cylindrical; that to the inner is keel-shaped with a band of dogtooth carried down the jambs. A continuous band is carried across the shafts about half-way down, and thence north and south as a string-course along the west

Fig. 22.—Kirkstall Abbey, North Doorway.

Fig. 23.—Old Malton Priory, West Doorway.

wall. The capitals are all enriched with beautiful stiff-leaved foliage. A doorway, formerly in the south aisle but now on the north side, is of earlier character, with pointed member and half-round on angle of hoodmould, then seventeen beak-heads on a roll and incised zigzag above, on the outer, and hollow on face and two half-rounds on the soffit of the inner order; a chamfered abacus, one detached shaft to outer and two engaged respond shafts to inner order with capitals having varied scalloping or fluting. There is another transitional doorway on south-east of cloisters with the keel-shaped moulding. At Easby Abbey is a doorway with hoodmould and two recessed orders. On the chamfer of the hoodmould is the antique pattern, and on the two recessed archivolt mouldings a series of beak-heads much weather-worn, twenty-four on the outer and sixteen on the inner order. The abacus and capitals (the shafts are gone) are of the Early English type.

The west doorway (Fig. 24) of Nun Monkton Priory Church is another very rich example of the transitional period. It is set within a porch-like projection, and has a triangular pediment above, having large pellets in a hollow of the ridge on either side, supported on small shafts. Within the pediment is a trefoil-headed niche on shafts with late capitals. The arch has a hoodmould and five recessed orders. The hoodmould has a hollow in place of the usual plain chamfer. On the outer order is a deeply undercut zigzag on face and soffit, each chevron enclosing a leaf, and with the points set on an angle keel-shaped, but not quite meeting. On the next order is a small keel-shaped, and larger keel-shaped on the angle, with hollow on either side; on the next is a hollow and keel-shaped on the angle; on the next is a course of zigzag on face and soffit, the points meeting on an angle keel-shaped, and forming deeply undercut lozenges, each chevron enclosing a leaf fan and other devices; on the inner on an angle keel-shaped beaded zigzag on face and soffit, each chevron enclosing a rose or foliage. The abacus is chamfered; there are four

cylindrical shafts on each side and an engaged keel-shaped to the inner order, each with a small subsidiary shaft between, the main shafts having capitals with beautiful and varied stiff-leaved foliage. There are three more doorways on the south side, the two western being plain, the eastern one somewhat similar to the main doorway at the west end.

At Sinningthwaite Priory is a very beautiful doorway (Fig. 25), forming the entrance to the present farmhouse, with a roll moulding on the hoodmould terminating on monster-heads ; then on outer order a series of bold undercut lozenges interlacing and set on an angle roll with beading on the lozenges and leaves filling up the spaces outside them. The inner order is plain with chamfered edge to arch and jambs. To the outer order is a chamfered abacus, and one shaft on each side with foliage on the capitals, that on the right ornamented with beading. On the interior side the arch has an angle roll with hollow on either side. At St. Mary's Abbey, York, the arches opening to the chapter-house must have been most beautiful with no less than eight engaged shafts on each side (all have been destroyed), having elegant foliage on the capitals, and backed up by piers enriched with zigzag enclosing leaves, and forming lozenges with roses and foliage in the centre (Fig. 26). Some of the arches have been put together and are now in the museum, exhibiting beautiful combinations of the zigzag, forming lozenges, &c. At Kirkham Priory, in the cloisters is a late and highly enriched doorway (Fig. 27) with a hoodmould and three recessed orders. The hoodmould is chamfered both ways with pellets on the chamfered portions and sunk roses on the main face. On the outer order are intersecting zigzag lines forming large lozenges set on an engaged roll. On the middle order is a course of elliptic or semicircular arched. The semicircles are arranged in pairs, the outer sides being continued so as to merge into a large rose set on a bold angle roll, the inner sides terminating on a trefoiled leaf in a hollow

Fig. 24.—Nun Monkton Priory, West Doorway.

Fig. 25.—Sinningthwaite Priory.

adjoining the roll. The inner order has a hollow and series of small pellets on the face and bold half-round on the soffit of the arch. The abacus is grooved and chamfered with a row of small roses on the chamfered portion. There have been shafts to the two outer orders, and engaged shafts, which still remain, to the inner order. The capitals are large with an early fluted design. Carried down the outer jamb on each side is a string of large sunk lozenges enclosing raised roses and with foliage filling up the spaces on each side. On the jambs between the outer and middle shafts are four circular medallions enclosing roses and joined by double bands, while a row of pellets is carried down the jambs between the middle and inner shafts. There is a cable band below the inner capital on the left side. At St. Martin's Priory, Richmond, the west doorway is another late example with a plain dripstone, triple row of out-turned zigzag in arch, massive abacus, one fluted capital on each side, the shafts destroyed.

By far the finest doorways of this period in Yorkshire remaining to us are the noble west and north portals of Selby Abbey. These have fortunately escaped uninjured by the recent disastrous conflagration, which played such havoc with this magnificent and venerable structure. The west doorway (Fig. 28) does not project, as in the case of most of the earlier examples, but is recessed in five orders right through the thickness of the wall. A string-course on either side is carried as a hoodmould round the arch, and is in the form of a half-round enriched with lozenges enclosing flowers and foliage. The arch mouldings are remarkable for the depth and delicacy of their carving. On the outer order is a double course of zigzag on face and soffit, the outer chevrons enclosing leaves, pellets, &c., the points of the inner meeting on an angle keel-shaped moulding, and forming deeply undercut lozenges. On the next order is a small engaged roll, and then the reticulated pattern set on a half-round moulding. On the next order is a double

row of out-turned zigzag on a roll, the inner row enclosing foliage within the chevrons. On the next order is an elaborate application of the zigzag designs, forming an outer course of the diamond frette, and then of zigzag on face and soffit set on an angle keel-shaped, and forming deeply undercut lozenges. There is a leaf within each chevron. The inner order is enriched with a beautiful beaded diamond frette pattern, with roses and other ornament. To this order is a pair of shafts and single detached shafts to the other orders, all with plain abaci and foliage on the capitals. Above the doorway is an arcade of trefoil-headed arches with pellets in a hollow, supported on shafts and capitals similar to, and probably coeval with, those of the portal below.

The north doorway is also very fine, and within a porch of the same date. The outer arch of the porch is semicircular, with an undercut hoodmould continued east and west as a string-course, and two orders, with the keel-shaped on the angle and a hollow on either side. On either side of the main arch is a pointed arch with the hollow and angle keel-shaped. Above each of these is a trefoil-headed niche, similar to those on the west front. Above these, along the whole front, is an arcade of pointed arches with a hollow and angle keel-shaped. All these arches rest on detached shafts with plain abacus and foliated capitals. Within, the porch is groined and has an arcade of pointed arches on each side, corresponding with those on the outside, and resting on shafts with similar foliated capitals. The inner doorway is very ornate, and resembles in its details that at the west end. It has a small hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the outer is the reticulated ornament; on the next is the diamond frette, and two rows of zigzag forming a series of lozenges set on a keel-shaped moulding at the angle, and with all the spaces filled in with leaves; on the next are two rows of bold out-turned zigzag, set on a roll, the inner row having leaves within the chevrons; on the inner order

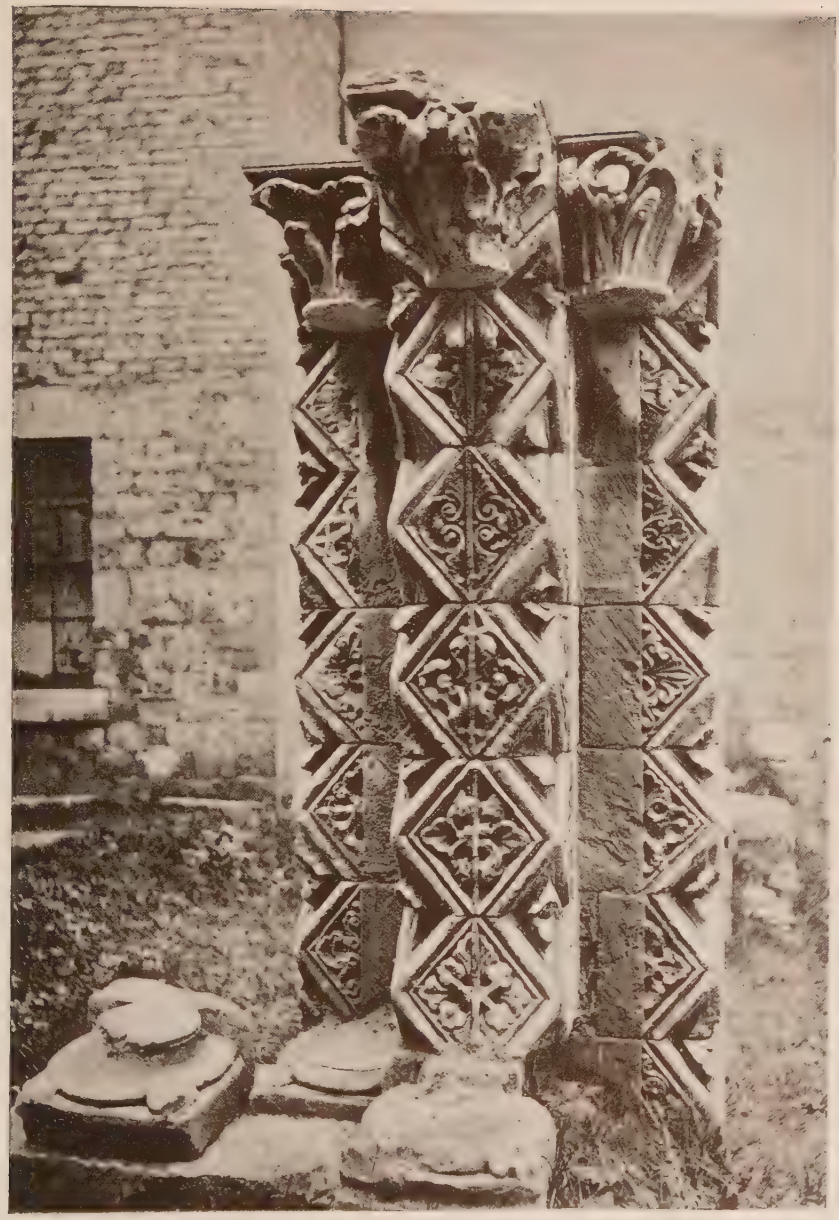

Fig. 26.—York, St. Mary's Abbey, Chapter House.

Fig. 27.—Kirkham Priory, Cloister Doorway.

is a beautiful diamond frette pattern, with beading, roses, and leaves. This rests on double shafts, the other orders on detached shafts, all with square abaci and foliated capitals. The date of these beautiful arches cannot be earlier than 1180.

At Byland Abbey are several doorways. The three at the west end of the church are very late specimens of transitional work, and were probably erected about the end of the twelfth century. The central doorway is trefoil-headed, with a band of dogtooth on the hoodmould, and four orders with numerous filleted, keel-shaped, and roll mouldings. The abacus is square on plan. There have been three detached shafts to the outer orders, with small shafts attached to the jambs between. The inner order is supported on double shafts. All the capitals are ornamented with the acanthus foliage. The south-west doorway is semicircular headed, with hoodmould having the zigzag on the terminations, and three recessed orders. The two outer have the keel-shaped on the angle and hollow on either side; the inner has a roll and a keel-shaped with a hollow on either side. The abacus is square on plan. The shafts are arranged as at Selby with plain bell-shaped capitals. The north-west doorway is obtusely pointed with a course of richly carved dog-tooth on the hoodmould, and three recessed orders with keel-shaped and roll mouldings. The capitals on the north side are plain, on the south are ornamented with the acanthus.

At Rievaulx Abbey are plain semicircular-headed doorways to the transepts of the church of the middle of the twelfth century, and one or two of the entrances to the domestic buildings are of this same date. The main entrance to the refectory is, however, of the transitional period, and a very fine example. It is semicircular-headed, with three orders, each having a roll with a fillet band and hollow on either side. These rest on a grooved and chamfered abacus and bell-shaped capitals, the middle ones enriched

with foliage. A keel-shaped order has been carried down the jambs between each shaft, but is now much mutilated. The inner order has a chamfered member and engaged roll, and encloses a tympanum cut out into a trefoil, the roll moulding round the lower edge being very artistically carved. There are two engaged respond shafts on each side supporting this order. On the interior side the arch is semicircular with chamfered hoodmould, one order with a roll on the angle and hollow on either side, chamfered abacus, and one shaft with plain capital. There is a beautiful arcade resting on large brackets carried along the exterior wall on either side of the doorway. The south transept doorway at Roche Abbey has already been mentioned, and is of earlier character.

The doorways on north of north transept and south of south transept of Ripon Cathedral are semicircular and of the late transitional period. The north doorway has three orders with varied roll mouldings, the inner with trefoiled head, and supported on shafts with richly carved acanthus on the capitals. The south doorway has five recessed orders with hollow and roll mouldings and a plain tympanum, supported on shafts with foliage on the capitals.

It must be acknowledged, even from a hasty perusal of the foregoing somewhat imperfect sketch, that Yorkshire is notable for the number and excellence of its Norman doorways. There are three special points about these which the writer has endeavoured to emphasise. The first is the large number which exhibit beak-head moulding, with one or more rows of these grotesque sculptures, the symbolism of which is still imperfectly understood. The second is that series of fine portals, set within porch-like projections, with many deeply recessed orders, embellished with medallions containing figures and subjects in most cases difficult of interpretation. The third is the number of semicircular-headed doorways with mouldings commonly associated with the Early English style of the

Fig. 28.—Selby Abbey, West Doorway.

thirteenth century, but in these instances being almost certainly the work of the latter part of the twelfth century, and the first fruits of the inventive genius of those gifted men who, in the seclusion of the monasteries, were able to devise what they considered to be improvements in the architectural styles then existing around them. Well may Yorkshiremen be proud of the many magnificent specimens of the handiwork of the twelfth-century masons which have survived to the present day. May they deem it their duty and privilege to conserve them.

The south doorway at Hartshead, visited since this paper was in type, has a series of saltires on the hoodmould, and two massive orders, on each of which are four courses of shallow zigzag on the face and soffit, and a bold zigzag on the angle. The abacus is also massive and chamfered with a zigzag band having a bead within each chevron on the main upper part. There are two large engaged shafts on each side, with plain scalloped capitals, the outer on each side with cable band below, and large circular bases with zigzag band above. The doorway is of an early date.

APPENDIX

THE following is a list of churches and other buildings in the county which have come under the notice of the writer, with references to the various authorities in which they are mentioned. These do not include the brief notices to be found in Kelly's *Directory*, Murray's *Handbook for Yorkshire*, and other guide-books.

The following full title is shortened for convenience: "Charles E. Keyser, A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain."

Adel Church *—

The Builder, i. 207.
Reliquary, New Series, i. 91.
Rev. H. T. Simpson, *History of the Parish of Adel.*
Churches of Yorkshire, vol. i.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 259, 262, 331.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., p. lvi.

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* *Those personally visited by C. E. Keyser.*

Aldbrough in Holderness Church *—
Poulson, *History and Antiquities of Holderness*, ii. i.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., p. i.
Andrews' *Church Treasury*, p. 194.
Alne Church *—
Reliquary, New Series, i. 167.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 256, 330, 347, 368, 386, 387.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., p. 2.
British Archæological Association Journal, New Series, vol. xiv. p. 258, fig. 7.
Amotherby Church.*
Ampleforth Church.*
Appleton-le-Street Church.*
Ardsley, East, Church—
Banks, *Walks in Yorkshire, Wakefield, and Neighbourhood*, p. 539.
Askham Bryan Church *—
Sheahan and Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York*, &c., i. 652.
Askham Richard Church *—
Sheahan and Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York*, &c., i. 652.
Austerfield Chapel *—
Archæologia, xlvii. 174.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 285.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., pp. xxxix., 3, fig. 61.
Ayton, East, Church *—
Rev. J. Fawcett, *Church Rides in the Neighbourhood of Scarborough*, p. 15.
Ayton, Great, Church.
Bardsey Church.*
Barmston Church.*
Barton-le-Street Church *—
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 256, 274, 330, 331, 368.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., pp. lxix., lxxii.
Bawtry Church.*
Bempton Church—
Prickett, *Priory Church of Bridlington*, p. 53.
Beverley, St. Mary's Church *—
Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, viii. 92.
Bilton Church.*
Birkin Church *—
Churches of Yorkshire, vol. i.

Bossall Church.
Bracewell Church—
Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 2nd ed., p. 82.
Braithwell Church *—
Archæologia, xlvii. 174.
Bramwith, Kirk, Church.*
Brandsburton Church.*
Brayton Church *—
Reliquary, New Series, ii. 152.
Yorkshire Archæological Journal, xii. 447.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 256, 315, 330, 331.
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., p. lvi.
Brompton Church (E.R.)—
Rev. J. Fawcett, *Church Rides in the Neighbourhood of Scarborough*, p. 50.
Brompton, Patrick, Church.
Broughton in Airedale Church—
Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 2nd ed., p. 93.
Bulmer Church.
Burnby Church.*
Burton Fleming, Church.*
Byland Abbey *—
The Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire, p. 45.
Byland, Old, Church.*
Campsall Church.*
Carlton Church—
Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 2nd ed., p. 175.
Catwick Church.
Cawood Church *—
Yorkshire Archæological Journal, xii. 436.
Cayton Church *—
Rev. J. Fawcett, *Church Rides in the Neighbourhood of Scarborough*, p. 22.
G. A. Poole, *Churches of Scarborough*, &c., p. 81.
Collingham Church.*
Conisborough Castle.*
Conisborough Church.*
Coniston Chapel—
Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 2nd ed., p. 455.
Coverham Church.
Dalton, North, Church.
Danby Wiske Church *—
Whitaker, *History of Richmondshire*, i. 255.
Archæologia, xlvii. 175.

Danby Wiske Church *—
C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, &c., pp. xliii., 11, fig. 79.
Deighton, Kirk, Church.
Doncaster Church *—
Rev. J. E. Jackson, *Ruined Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster*, p. 17.
Doncaster, St. Mary Magdalene Church—
Rev. J. E. Jackson, *Ruined Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster*, pp. 6, 7.
Driffield, Great, Church.*
Easby Abbey *—
The Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire, p. 75.
Eastrington Church.
Ebberston Church.
Edlington Church.*
Egton Church.
Etton Church *—
Collings, *Details of Gothic Architecture*, vol. i., pl. 3.
Faceby Church.
Farlington Church.*
Filey Church *—
Rev. J. Fawcett, *Church Rides in the Neighbourhood of Scarborough*, p. 168.
Fishlake Church *—
Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, iv. 96.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 277.
Folkton Church.*
Fordon Church.*
Fountains Abbey *—
The Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire, p. 30.
F. A. Reeve, *Monograph on Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire.*
Fridaythorp Church.
Frodingham, North, Church.
Fryston, Ferry, Church.*
Garton-on-the-Wolds Church.*
Goldsborough Church.*
Goodmanham Church *—
The Antiquarian Itinerary, vol. i.
Goxhill Church.
Grimston, North, Church.*
Guiseley Church.*
Hammerton, Kirk, Church.*
Hartshead Church *—
Churches of Yorkshire, vol. i. 24.
Hatfield Church.*

Hauxwell Church.
Hayton Church.*
Healaugh Church *—
Sheahan and Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York*, &c., i. 665.
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Hedon Church.*
Helmsley Castle.*
Helmsley Church.*
Hilston Church—
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Hilton Church.
Horton Church—
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Hunmanby Church *—
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Husthwaite Church.*
Hutton Buscel Church—
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Hutton Cranswick Church.*
Ilkley Church.*
Ingleby Greenhow Church.*
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Kettlewell Church.
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Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds Church.*
Kilnwick Percy Church.
Kirby Hill Church.
Kirkburn Church *—
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Kirkby Grindalyth Church.*
Kirkby Malzeard Church.
Kirkby Wiske Church—
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Lockington Church.
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Malton, New, St. Michael's Church.*
Malton, Old, Priory Church *—
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Mappleton Church.
Marske Church, Richmondshire.*
Marston, Long, Church.
Marton-cum-Grafton Church.
Masham Church.*
Monkton, Moor, Church.
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Nunburnholme Church.*
Osmotherley Church—
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Redmire Church—
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Saxton Church.
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Shipton Church.*
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Skerne Church.
Skipton Castle *—
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Skipwith Church.*
Snainton Church—
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Spofforth Church.*
Steeton Chapel.
Stillingfleet Church *—
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Stonegrave Church.*
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Terrington Church.*
Thorpe Arch Church.*
Thorpe Bassett Church.
Thorpe Salvin Church.*
Thwing Church *—
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Tickhill Castle.*
Ulrome Church.
Weaverthorpe Church.*
Well Church.*
Wharram-le-Street Church.
Wighill Church *—
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Wilton, Bishop, Church *—
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York Minster *—
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York, Trinity Priory.
York, Walmgate.*

YORKSHIRE BELLS AND BELL-FOUNDERS

By J. Eyre Poppleton

THE Bells of a county may be considered from at least two points of view. The ringer will esteem them merely as so many musical instruments arranged to enable him to execute elaborate performances according to the most approved methods of scientific campanology. I do not, however, propose to deal with this aspect, but to consider the bells as part of the ordinary furniture of churches and as works of art. The earliest notice of church bells in Yorkshire is that of a ring at the monastery of Hackness, near Scarborough, in the early part of the eighth century. At that time, when a monk died, it was customary for the brethren to be called by the ringing of a bell to pray for the soul of the deceased. Bede relates that in his day the nuns of St. Hilda's Abbey at Whitby were called to daily prayer in a similar manner. A few years ago there hung in the belfry of Scawton Church, near Helmsley, and I believe hangs there still, a bell which was brought from Byland Abbey in 1146. How long it was at Byland before its removal we do not know, but if it is still in existence it must be the oldest bell in Yorkshire. It bears, or bore, the inscription " + Campana Beata Maria + Johannes Copgraf me fecit." In going through the towers of the old West Riding churches some years ago, I found altogether seventy-five bells to which I assigned a date prior to 1550; and the Rev. W. C. Boulter, in his notes on the East Riding bells, printed in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* many years ago, gave forty-seven bells in that district to which a

similar age might be assigned. The North Riding bells have not yet been thoroughly examined, but I should expect to find amongst them a proportionately large number of mediæval bells. All over England, of course, old bells get fewer and fewer every year. Even in the period during which I was engaged on the West Riding, I several times found on revisiting a tower that one or other of the bells noted on a former occasion had disappeared. Such gradual disappearance is a matter for regret, as no one who has not braved the difficulties and dirt unavoidable in systematic bell-hunting can realise the artistic skill bestowed in the old days upon bells which, of course, were hardly ever seen after they were once hung.

With regard to their gradual destruction, of course there are and always have been many causes working in that direction. Where bells are regarded merely as musical instruments, there is nothing to be surprised at in the taking down and sending to the bell-founder of three old bells to help to pay for a new ring of six, upon which elaborate change-ringing can be performed. Bell-metal, though practically imperishable, except in an atmosphere polluted with sulphurous smoke, is a brittle compound; and unless a bell is looked after and rung with proper care and skill, it will probably, sooner or later, be cracked. A chapelry in the old parish of Dewsbury used to have its bells jested upon as

> "Hartshead-cum-Clifton,
> Two cracked bells and a snipped un."

I have seen these bells, and no doubt their condition is due to neglect and faulty ringing or chiming.

Again, bell-metal is and always has been an expensive and valuable material, and a bell has always been treated as a "negotiable instrument." At the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, the plate and bells were looked after sharply as one of the most valuable parts of the movable plunder. Even in the reign of Philip and Mary, church bells were not safe,

as may be proved by a document in the Record Office. It is dated 24th November 1555, and contains an account by Henry Saville, the Crown Surveyor for the West Riding, with respect to four bells which he had taken from the church at Sherburn-in-Elmet, and shipped at Hull. Much of the bell-metal taken from the monasteries was carried, like that from Sherburn, to the nearest port and shipped for London, or sent direct abroad; and so great did the trade become that further exportation had to be prohibited by Act of Parliament. Richard Bellasys, when engaged in 1537 upon the dissolution of Jervaulx Abbey, wrote to Thomas Cromwell: "The ways in that country (*i.e.* the North Riding) are so foul and deep that no carriage can pass;" and concerning the bells, "I cannot sell them above 15s. the cwt., wherein I would gladly know your Lordship's pleasure, whether I should sell them after that price or send them up to London, and if they be sent up, surely the carriage would be costly from that place [Jervaulx] to the water." Bell-metal, gun-metal, and statuary-bronze are more or less of the same composition; and though doubtless many cannon have been made from bell-metal, I have never heard of any bells made from cannon, except those at Liversedge, near Bradford, which were cast in 1814 from guns taken from the French at Genoa. When, after the Revolution, the bronze statue of James II. at Newcastle was broken down and thrown into the Tyne, some portions were fished up and afterwards purchased by the Smiths for their bell-foundry at York. A few Yorkshire bells now existing can be traced to monastic towers. There is, however, besides the Scawton bell, one at Warmfield, near Wakefield, which bears the name of John de Berdesay, Abbot of Kirkstall, who died in 1313. It is said that the twelve bells belonging to the Trinitarian Priory at Knaresborough were shared between the churches of Spofforth, Kirkby Malzeard, and Knaresborough. None of these bells, however, now exist in those towers, except possibly one at Spofforth. The second bell at Little Ouseburn, bearing

Mark of William Seller.

Mark of James Smith of York.

Mark of Samuel Smith.

Mark of Edward Seller.

the inscription " + Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis," is said to have been brought from Fountains Abbey, to which this church was attached. Mr. Walbran [1] says Prior Whixley of Fountains gave some bells to the church at Arncliffe-in-Craven; and a bell there, bearing the inscription " + Petre poli clavis fac ut intremis quavis," may well be one of them. It must be remembered that until the middle of the eighteenth century English roads were so bad that to convey as heavy a mass as a church bell, weighing even 15 cwt., would be nearly impossible, and so bells were broken up to facilitate their removal. Again, bells have often been sold to raise money for parish purposes, as at Kirk Sandall, where, in 1828, four of the bells were sold to provide funds for the rebuilding of the tower. In 1890 I found there only one small bell, dated 1690, and the four wheels of those which had been sold. Other bells have been lost by downright theft. In 1645 a man named Barnard Bumpus stole a bell, which the sexton described as having the inscription "Michael th' archangell," out of the steeple of Copgrove Church. The thief broke the bell up, but the fragments were traced, and he was indicted at York for the offence.[2] At Bilton in the Ainsty there is a double bell-cot on the western gable. One bell only remains, and it is said that the other was stolen by a travelling tinker.

Rev. S. Baring-Gould, in *Yorkshire Oddities*, tells an amusing story of how Dean Waddilove of Ripon sold the old bell of St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital, at Ripon, to raise funds for the replenishing of his wine cellar; and to conceal the theft had a wooden dummy bell made and hung in the bell-cot of the Hospital. The old bell is said to have had the inscription, " Sum ego pulsata Rosa mundi vocata." Canon J. T. Fowler told me he had himself seen the wooden bell in an old chest in the Hospital Chapel.

In early times churches, and especially large cathedral

[1] *Sur. Soc.*, "Memorials of Fountains."
[2] *Sur. Soc.*, xl. p. 67.

and monastic churches, seem frequently to have been destroyed by fire, and no doubt many of the bells were then broken or melted. Up and down Yorkshire may be seen a good many circular oak snuff-boxes made from the timber of York Minster obtained at the restoration of the south-western tower after the fire of 1840. Each of these boxes has let into the lid a small medallion made from the metal of the Minster bells, which were then melted as they hung. A similar fate overtook the bells of Doncaster Parish Church at the fire which destroyed it in 1856; and on Christmas Day 1874 the tower of Bramham Church, near Wetherby, was burnt out and the bells destroyed. So in October 1906 the bells of Selby Abbey Church, and in February 1908, those of Kirkby Malzeard suffered a like fate. One frequently finds in the tower of an old church one bell much older than the rest. This may be accounted for by the fact that turbulent districts were sometimes penalised by being deprived of all their bells but one to each church. Such a disgrace fell upon all the churches in Yorkshire and elsewhere where Mass was said during what is known as the "Rising in the North" in 1536. In spite of all, however, the diligent student of such things may still, in the out-of-the-way parts of the country, find many old bells. At Marton, near Boroughbridge, is a long, narrow-waisted bell, bearing in rough Lombardic lettering reversed: "+Campana Sancti Johannis Ewageliste." This, I think, is nearly as old as the Scawton bell. Bells older than the fourteenth century are generally tall and narrow in proportion to their diameter. The Marton bell is 18 inches high and 18 inches in diameter at the rim, but only 8 inches in diameter at the shoulder. Bells of a similar shape may be found at Muker, in Swaledale, and Weston, near Otley. An early and beautiful sample of work in bell-metal may be seen in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York, in the shape of a mortar cast in 1308 by Brother William Towthorpe.

Later on I shall deal with the bell-founders who are

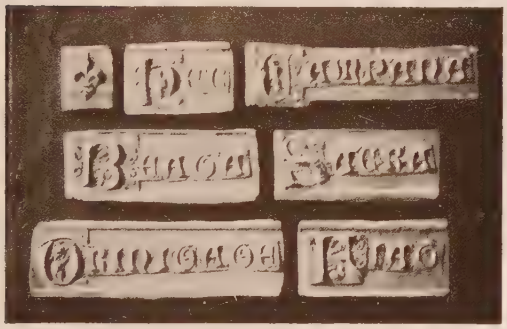
known to have had their headquarters in Yorkshire. It must, however, be remembered that many of the Yorkshire bells were cast by itinerant founders, who went about the country carrying their rough metal and tools on horses, along roads fit for no wheeled vehicle, and who set up furnaces and cast their bells where they were wanted. At Kirkby Malzeard a bell was cast in the church itself, the churchwardens' accounts for 1591 having this entry: "To Vincent Outhwaite for paving the church where the bell was casten, ijs."; and an old building on the north side of Sheffield Parish Church used to be pointed out as having been used as a foundry when some of the bells for that church were cast. The inscriptions found on mediæval bells are, as a rule, short, often merely the name of the saint to which the bell was dedicated, with a cross, and the word "Sancte," or an abbreviation for it. A very old bell at Walton, near Tadcaster, has nothing but the word "Hugo," and a cross. Invocations of God and the saints are a common form of inscription, as at Skelbrooke, near Doncaster, where two of the bells have: "+Jesu fili dei miserere mei," and "+Maria mater dei miserere mei;" and one often finds the angelic salutation, "Ave Maria gracia plena." A remarkable inscription is to be found on a fifteenth-century bell at Ledsham, near Leeds: "+O Sacer et Daniel pro gente Havvarden adora." I have not been able to make out any connection between Ledsham and Hawarden, in Cheshire, but it is a curious fact that George Ledsham (probably of the family of Ledsham of Moston, Cheshire), by his will in 1606, left £300 to found a grammar school at Hawarden. Those of my readers who are acquainted with Wordsworth's poem, "The White Doe of Rylstone," may remember the lines in canto vii.:—

> "When the bells of Rylstone play'd
> Their Sabbath music—"God us ayde!"
> That was the sound they seemed to speak;
> Inscriptive legend which, I ween,
> May on those holy bells be seen."

Wordsworth was, however, mistaken. The legend borne by the bell referred to was, "In God is al." This was misread by Dr. Carey, a former vicar of Bolton Abbey, into, "J. N. [the initials of John Norton of Rylstone] God us ayde," and communicated as such to Wordsworth. The old bell which occasioned the mistake has been recast, but at Crofton, near Wakefield, is a mediæval bell by the same founder bearing the inscription, "In God is al quod [*quoth*] Gabriel," doubtless a version of St. Luke i. 37. From time to time the dedication of some of our parish churches has been altered. To-day the church at Cawthorne, near Barnsley, bears a dedication to All Saints, but it was formerly known as the chapel of St. Michael in the old parish of Silkstone, and a mediæval bell still in the tower bears the inscription, "Michaelis." Sometimes we get such an inscription as, "Paule est nomen meum" (at Long Marston), alluding to the customary baptism of the bell. A curious post-Reformation instance of the naming of a bell occurred at Haddlesey, near Selby, when, in 1839, a new bell was procured. It arrived on September 29th, and was dedicated by the curate-in-charge, who gave it the name "Michael." One of the earliest *English* inscriptions I have found in Yorkshire is at Cowthorpe, near Wetherby. The church was built in 1458 by Sir Bryan Rouclyff, son of Guy Rouclyff, Recorder of York. Sir Bryan was made a Baron of the Exchequer the year this church was consecrated. The bell, which bears the arms of the founder and his wife (a Hammerton of Craven), has the inscription, "O thou blyssid Trinite of Bryan Rodlyff haf pyte."

Interesting information for the genealogist is sometimes afforded by inscriptions on bells, which, in olden days as now, were often given as memorials to the deceased. The second bell at Goldesbrough, near Harrogate, has, "Anno Domini M^{mo} CCCC^{mo} VII^{mo} Anno Deo digna Poscentibus esto benigna Domina Johanna uxor ejusdem Ricardi Goldisburgh fecit dimediam." The third bell has, in an entirely

From the Smallest Bell at Maltby.



From the Tenor Bell at Wales, near Rotherham.

From the Smallest Bell at Skelbrooke, near Doncaster.

different kind of lettering: "+ Ihc + Dominus Ricardus Goldesburg Miles XIII. fecit istam." I am informed that there were at least eight Richard Goldesburghs between 1295 and 1479, but cannot find that any one of them had a wife named Johanna or Joan. Again, at Bolton-in-Bolland we have two bells:—

(1) "Sc̄e Paule ora pro aīabus Henrici Pudsey et Margarete consorte sue."
(2) "Sc̄e Johīs Baptista ora pro aīabus Johīs Pudsey militis et Gracie consorte sue."

Both these bells were probably given, about 1510, by Henry Pudsey, son of the Henry and Margaret of the first bell, and grandson of the John and Grace commemorated on the second bell.

In modern times it has happily been customary, on the recasting of a bell, to reproduce the old inscription, sometimes in facsimile, but unfortunately this was not the practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth century founders. Possibly, from anti-Catholic religious prejudice, they would not reproduce what they considered superstitious inscriptions. On a bell, however, at Kirk Hammerton, near York, is, "Campana Sancti Quintini, 1667," as far as my knowledge goes, a solitary instance. With the Reformation came a new style of inscription. Though still often in Latin, the inscriptions cease to be invocations to saints or prayers for the departed. Common post-Reformation inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are:—

"God save our Church and Realm."
"Jesus be our speed" (said to be the invocation used by a bell-founder at the critical moment when he tapped the furnace).
"Soli Deo gloria."
"In jucunditate soni sonabo tibi Domine."

At Tickhill (1726) one gets on several bells lines from Sternhold and Hopkins' version of Psalm lxxxi. Mottoes based on the uses of the bells are also common, such as:—

"I sweetly tolling men do call
To taste on meat that feeds the soul."

"Wind them and bring them, and I will ring for them."

and at Clapham, in Craven :—

> "My crack is cured, now aloud I cry,
> 'Come pray, repent, here believe, learn to die.'"

At Cowthorpe a bell, dated 1622, anticipates some of ex-President's Roosevelt's spelling reforms :[1] —

> "My sound the mean yet doth aspire
> To sound men's harts and raise them hire."

Upon eighteenth and early nineteenth century bells one finds little but the names or initials of the churchwardens, with the name of the founder and the date. Mediæval bells seldom bear dates, and one has to judge them by the character of the lettering used. This, however, is not an infallible guide, as founders often employed the lettering stamps used by their predecessors in business, just as a printer often uses blocks employed by his grandfather. At Bolton Percy is a fine bell, dated, and no doubt cast, in 1605, but in the inscription on which have been used a number of beautiful capitals of much earlier date. At Thorparch, in the same neighbourhood, is a bell bearing the date 1630, which has its inscription in a lettering of definitely mediæval character. Again, the tenor bell at Spofforth bears three sorts of lettering—Roman, English text, and a sort of hybrid.

In the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 50, pp. 150–174), Mr. R. C. Hope gave a list of English bell-founders, and in the *Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for* 1898 Mr. George Benson gave an account of the York founders. From these and my own researches I give the following list of Yorkshire founders :—

Adam, Friar, Doncaster	1335–49
Aughton, Henry, York	1384
Aughton, Henry, ,,	1491
Asby, Thomas, ,,	1485

[1] Bell inscriptions, whether in mediæval Latin or later English, are as may be gathered from examples cited in this paper, full of curious blunders and abnormal spelling.

Bee, Gilbert, York	1513
Belyetter,[1] Robert, York	1280
Bery, John, ,,	1461
Blakey, Richard, ,,	1501
Bonyne, Gyliseus, ,,	1365–74
Bous, John, ,,	1354
Bowler, Augustus, Wath-on-Dearne	1626–48
Carved, or	
Calvert, Christopher, York	1545
,, Thomas, ,,	1551
,, Christopher, ,,	1548
,, William, ,,	1551
Cawood & Son, Leeds	1812–16
Copgrave, John de, York	1140
,, William de, York	1297
Cuerdon, William, Doncaster	1652–78
Dalton, George, York	1752–89
,, C. & R. ,,	1783–91
,, Robert ,,	1789
Dawson, William, ,,	1514
Doe, Gilbert ,,	1515
Eschby, John ,,	1505
Fourness, Thomas, Halifax	1472
Gerveaux, John, York	1400
Heathcote, George, York	1540–58
Hedderley, Daniel, Bawtry	1714–59
Hilton, Thomas, Wath-on Dearne	1774–1808
Hooton, William de, York	1297–1300
,, ,, ,, ,,	1409–45
,, John, ,, ,,	1455–73
King, William, ,,	1435
Kirk, George Thillis, ,,	1758
Kirkham, John de, ,,	1371
Lee, George, Wath-on-Dearne	1613–15
Lonsdale, Thomas, York	1432
Lowesse, John, ,,	1474
,, T., ,,	1485
Ludlam, Joseph, Rotherham	1733–60
Ludlam & Walker, ,,	1750
Lyons, Thomas, York	1577
Marshall, John, ,,	1385
Metcalfe, Francis, York	—
Naylor Vickers & Co., Sheffield (steel bells)	1857–74
Ogelby, Robert, York	1700–68
Oldfield, Henry, ,,	1590–1620

[1] *i.e.* "Bell-founder," hence Billiter Street in the city of London.

Oldfield, William, Doncaster and York	1601–46
Potter, John, York	1359–80
Richardson, Richard, York	1504
,, James ,,	1515
Ryche, Thomas, York	1537
Seller, William, ,,	1635–87
,, Edward (I.), York	1669–1724
,, Edward (II.), ,,	1724–64
,, Edward and John, York	1745
,, S., York	1717
Shaw, James & Son, Bradford	1848–92
Smith, Abraham, York	1652–9
,, James ,,	1656–63
,, Samuel (I.), ,,	1662–1709
,, ,, (II.), York	1709–31
Smith (S.) & Cuerton (W.), York	1662
,, (Ab^{m}) ,, ,, ,,	—
,, William, ,,	1553–1662
Sowerby, Thomas de, ,,	1380
Stokesley, William, ,,	1340
Tenand, John, ,,	1508–16
Thwaites, William, ,,	1512
Towthorpe, William de, ,,	1308
Tunnoc, Richard, ,,	1320–30
Watson, John, ,,	—
Whitehead, James, ,,	1730
Wood, C. S., Leeds	1806

With regard to a great many of these founders I have no information except Messrs. Hope and Benson's lists.

Cuerdon, William.—This man seems to have worked with both Abraham and James Smith. The initials of all three are to be found on a bell at Swillington, dated 1656. Cuerdon used a mark almost exactly the same as William Oldfield's larger mark, so he may have succeeded to, or had some connection with that foundry.

Dalton, George.—He carried on the Sellars' foundry to the very end of the eighteenth century, and used a small mark similar to that of the Smiths and Sellars, but without the band of bell-ornament, and with his own name upon it.

Heathcote, George.—The Heathcotes had their principal

From the Third Bell at Leathley.

From a Rubbing of the Bell at Rylstone referred to in Wordsworth's Poem.

From the Third Bell at Cowthorpe.

foundry at Chesterfield. The first of them, Ralph, died in 1525. His son George (I.) died in 1558. The latter cast a bell for Ripon Minster in 1540. There appears afterwards to have been another George Heathcote, or some founder using the marks, at Badsworth (date 1582) and Thrybergh (date 1609).

Hedderley, Daniel, cast a considerable number of bells in the southern part of the county, *e.g.* Doncaster, South Kirkby, and Sheffield (St. Peter).

Hilton, Thomas.—This man had a foundry at Wath-on-Dearne, near Rotherham, and cast a good many bells for churches in his immediate neighbourhood. In connection with A. Walker he cast bells at Ecclesfield and Darfield.

Ludlam, Joseph.—He had a foundry near the Grammar School at Rotherham. His bells may be seen, amongst other places, at Ackworth and Penistone. He also worked with Walker, and bells of the partnership may be found in several towers in South Yorkshire.

Oldfield, Henry, &c.—A large number of bells are still to be found in Yorkshire, of high quality both in casting and artistic design, which are thought to have been made by founders whose origin and headquarters were at Nottingham. Richard Mellour, a bell-founder, was Mayor of Nottingham in 1506. He had a son Robert, who succeeded him in the business, and died about 1526, leaving a daughter, who married Humphry Quarnbie. Robert, son of this marriage, about 1593 took into partnership Henry Oldfield, son of another Henry Oldfield, whom Mr. North thinks migrated to Nottingham from Yorkshire, and who carried on a foundry in Long Row, Nottingham, in 1574-75. A notable bell at Harewood, cast about the latter date by these Nottingham founders, has, amongst other characteristic ornaments, a shield bearing a cross raguly between three crowns, the foot of the cross being encircled by a crown in base. This is very like the arms of the town of Nottingham. The same mark appeared on a bell

formerly at Pontefract (All Saints). Nearly all the bells attributed to the Nottingham foundry bear a pair of very fine capitals, H. and (reversed) C. It may be that the reversed C did duty for an O, but Mr. Walters of the British Museum suggests that it was meant for a D, the initial of Henry Dand or Danne, father-in-law to a Robert Quarnbie, who was a bell-founder, and is known to have done work with Henry Oldfield (II.) at Shrewsbury Abbey Church in 1591. The same C is often used right way up in inscriptions, but I have never found either a capital D or an O of this fount. There is generally found between the H and O a small shield or trade-mark containing the letter R and a bell—possibly the initial of either Richard Mellour or of Richard Quarnbie. Henry Oldfield (II.) had three sons, George (I.), Richard, and Robert, all engaged in bell-founding. George (I.) died in 1680, having had a son George (II.), who predeceased him in 1660. I have found bells of George Oldfield at Batley, Edlington, Hickleton, and Loversall, all curiously bearing the same date, 1658. A Hugh Oldfield married Alice, daughter of George (I.), and used a heart-shaped mark with his initials and a bell hanging between them.

Oldfield, William.—Probably of the same family. Had foundries at Nottingham, Doncaster, and York. Many of his bells are to be found in Yorkshire dated in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. He used a small mark with his initials, and a bell between them, and also a larger stamp bearing a cross between two bells. At one time he seems to have worked with Henry or Hugh Oldfield, whose initials are added to the larger stamp on a bell at Broughton-in-Craven, dated 1615.

Potter, John.—Mr. Benson notes that John, son of Nicholas the Potter (probably a maker of *brazen* pots), was made a freeman of York in 1359. There is a bell at Holy Trinity Church, York, bearing his name; and, amongst other bells which may be attributed to him, is the Kirkstall bell at Warmfield.

Smith, Abraham, James, and Samuel.—The Smiths had a foundry at Toft Green, in York, and did a very extensive business during the seventeenth century. Abraham seems to have been the founder of the business, and worked with William Cuerdon (1620–62). He was succeeded by James, who was probably his son, and is known to have worked with him. Many of their bells bear the initials I.S., and a small shield parted per pale, having three jugs or laver pots on one side and three bells on the other. Mr. Benson says he has copies of inscriptions from 182 bells made by the Smiths, and doubtless I have come across many of which he had not heard. Abraham and James were succeeded at the Toft Green Foundry by Samuel Smith (I.) and his son Samuel (II.). The distinguishing characteristic of their bells is a small shield bearing the mark $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{S.S.}\\\text{Ebor}\end{matrix}\right\}$ set at intervals in a very beautiful band of ornament interspersed with bells. Samuel (I.) died in 1709, and was buried in Holy Trinity Church, Micklegate. He bequeathed the foundry to his sons, Samuel (II.) and James—Samuel (II.) died in August 1731.

Seller, William.—Another notable seventeenth-century foundry at York was that of the Seller family in Jubbergate. One distinguishing mark of William Seller's bells is a small shield bearing the initials W.S., and a bell, with sometimes also a rose. William Seller was succeeded by his son Edward Seller (I.), who was Sheriff of York in 1703-4, and used a mark similar to that of the Smiths, but with $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{E.}\\\text{Seller}\\\text{Ebor}\end{matrix}\right\}$ on the small shield. He used a coarser and larger band of bell ornament. Edward Seller (I.) died in 1724, and was buried in St. Sampson's Church, York. He was succeeded by his son Edward (II.), who was also Sheriff of York (1731–32), and used the same marks. In 1745 there was working with Edward (II.) a John Seller, possibly a brother.

Tunnoc, Richard.—I have not been able to identify any of this man's bells remaining in the county, but he was evidently a person of position, being Bailiff of York in 1320, and representing the city in the Parliament which sat at Lincoln in 1327. He died in 1330, and is commemorated in a very interesting window at the east end of the north aisle of the nave of York Minster, within a few feet of his grave. A description of the window, as given in Murray's *Handbook of the Northern Cathedrals*, is as follows:—

"In the lower right-hand light of the window is shown the casting of a bell. A man blows the furnace with a pair of double bellows, on the top of which a boy is standing, pressing alternately with each foot, and supporting himself on a bar fixed above. On the opposite side of the furnace another figure, apparently Tunnoc himself, opens the furnace door with a long bent poker. The metal is seen flowing into the mould of the bell. The left-hand light shows the bell fixed in a lathe to be finished. One man turns the handle of the windlass, and Tunnoc himself applies a long turning tool pressed tightly against his shoulder. His name appears above."

In out-of-the-way places old customs die hard, even when they have lost all meaning to the present generation. The ringing of a bell early in the morning and at eight o'clock at night is by no means uncommon; and in places, for instance at Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, a bell is still rung daily at 6 A.M., noon, and 6 P.M. I think there is little doubt that the 8 P.M. bell is a survival, not of the curfew, but of a bell rung for compline, the last office of the day. Indeed, a hundred years ago such bells were known as "complines." I have only come across one instance of the ringing of the funeral peal mentioned in Canon LXVII. At Bolton-in-Bolland, almost the most westerly parish in Yorkshire, all four bells are rung from the time a funeral is sighted approaching until it reaches the church. In 1810 a Mr. Tuke of Wath-on-Dearne bequeathed 10s. to the ringers

Marks used by Henry Oldfield of Nottingham.

Fallen Bells of Selby Abbey after the Fire of 1906.

who were to strike off a peal of Grand Bobs whilst the testator was being put into his grave. The Pancake bell is still rung in many places, without the least idea of its origin as an invitation to come to be shriven. In many places a difference is made in ringing the death-bell to enable the hearers to distinguish the sex and approximate age of the deceased. The exact custom varies, but Wath-on-Dearne may be taken as a sample. There before the regular tolling three times three strokes are given for a man, three times two strokes for a woman, twice three for a boy, and twice two for a girl. It has been said that the origin of the old saying that nine *tailors* make a man is taken from this custom, as almost invariably the death of a man is indicated by nine strokes or *tellers*. In old times church bells were much used for civil purposes. In 1576 it was ordered at Richmond Sessions that on the ringing of the alarm bell in Trinity Church tower the townsmen were to resort to the mayor and obey his commands on pain of a fine of 6s. 8d. for default. At Doncaster it used to be customary to ring the sixth bell to summon the Town Council, the fifth for the Highway Board, and the treble for the Vestry. Even to-day in Pontefract the firemen are summoned by ringing two of the church bells together.

THE CASTLES OF YORKSHIRE

By A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A.

UNTIL a few years ago, a sacrosanct theory pointed to the conclusion that the strategic policy of the Conqueror, on his northern expedition of 1068, was a continuation of that of Eadward the Elder and the Lady of the Mercians, in their defence of the Mercian border against the Danes nearly a century and a half beforehand. William's two castles at York, one on either side of the Ouse, were assumed to be fortifications of similar character with those *burhs* which guarded both banks of the Lea at Hertford, of the Ouse at Buckingham and Bedford, of the Welland at Stamford, and of the Trent at Nottingham.[1] The *burh* of pre-Conquest times was taken to be the precursor of the Norman castle; and the Norman baron was said, in his work of fortification, to have built his castle on the mound and round the enclosure occupied by the English landowner to whose possessions he succeeded.[2] It is not unlikely that, in many cases, Norman castles occupied a site previously chosen by Saxon noblemen for their habitation. But that such a site was known as a *burh*, or that its general plan and system of defence resembled those of a Norman castle, are matters open to grave doubt. The *burhs* built by Eadward and

[1] See A.-S. Chron., ann. 913–924, for references to these and other *burhs*.

[2] This is the theory enunciated by the late G. T. Clark, *Med. Mil. Arch.*, 1884, vol. i. pp. 12-34. His fundamental assumption is thus stated (p. 23): "A *burh* is a moated mound with a table top, and a base court, also moated, either appended to one side of it, or within which it stands." This over-confident hypothesis colours the whole of Mr. Clark's valuable work with somewhat fatal effect.

Æthelflæd, or surrendered to them, were almost certainly fortified enclosures inhabited by communities—in fact, walled or stockaded towns. The *castel* was the fortress and residence of an individual lord with his retinue; and it is clear, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as well as from a fairly definite statement by Ordericus Vitalis, that the castle was first made familiar to Englishmen by the Norman invaders.[1] Norman favourites of Edward the Confessor had built at least two castles in England—one north of London, the other in the banished Swegen's earldom of Hereford; and one of these was so far a phenomenon that it was known as "the" castle. But to the majority of the Englishmen who fought at Hastings, the castle which William constructed there, as the Chronicle tells us, and the Bayeux tapestry shows us, was a new thing. The very novelty of the castle as a form of fortification, the unfamiliar character of its earthworks, accounts for the use which the Conqueror made of it in his English campaigns. If it was already a well-known feature in England, it is surprising that, before the Conquest, the only *castelas* that are mentioned by the Chronicle should be the work of foreigners, and that William's castle-building after the Conquest should be so carefully recorded, as if the *castel* were a novelty which required special mention. When William returned to Normandy in the Lent of 1067, his viceroys, Bishop Odo and William Fitz-Osbern, overawed the country by building castles; and the chronicler distinctly marks this epoch of building as a landmark in the decline of English freedom.[2] After Easter, 1068, the king went from Winchester northward to stem the tide of rebellion which was rising in the north. Fortified *burhs* he doubtless found: castles he had to build. And one result of his journey which he left behind him

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[1] A.-S. Chron., ann. 1048, 1052; Ord. Vit., iv. 4. (Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, vol. clxxxviii. 1 col. 314 C.)

[2] A.-S. Chron., ann. 1066. *Cf.* Ord. Vit., lib. iv. c. 3. (Migne, *u.s.*, col. 308 D.)

were the castles of Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the first castle of York.[1] His castle at Nottingham rose high on its sandstone cliff above the Danish *burh* north of the Trent, commanding both it and the suburb across the river which Eadward the Elder had made into a *burh*. At York, as at Nottingham, the city spread on both sides of the river. North of the Ouse was the old Roman city, and, on the south-west of this enclosure, between the wall and the river, in the angle formed by the junction of Ouse and Foss, William placed the first of his castles. Early in 1069, the governor, William Malet, found himself hard pressed by the insurgents who supported Edgar Atheling. The Conqueror hastened to the relief of the castle, and constructed a second fortress on the opposite side of the Ouse, outside the Saxon rampart of the southern or Micklegate suburb. The second castle was committed to William Fitz-Osbern.[2] It is abundantly clear that both castles consisted of the usual type of Norman earthwork, and that the donjons which crowned their mottes or moated mounds, as well as the rest of the fortifications, were of timber. Both mounds still remain. That on the north of the river was eventually to bear the stone tower of quatrefoil shape, which has occupied its summit from the reign of Henry III. to our own day. The southern motte, now known as the Baile Hill, apparently never was fortified with stone buildings; all traces of its fortifications are now gone, and indications of the bailey or ward at the foot of the mound have almost disappeared.[3]

The castle, then, far from being identical with the *burh*, was the fortress of a foreign lord, raised with the express

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[1] Ord. Vit., lib. iv. c. 5. (Migne, *u.s.*, col. 314 D.): "Ipse tamen, quia fidem illorum suspectam habuit, in urbe ipsa munitionem firmavit."

[2] Ord. Vit., iv. 6: "Rex autem dies octo in urbe morans, alterum praesidium condidit," &c.

[3] See Mrs. Armitage's descriptions, "Early Norman Castles of England" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xix., 1904, pp. 443–449); and Dr. J. H. Round, "The Castles of the Conquest" (*Archæologia*, vol. lviii., 1902, pp. 317 *n*, 325).

purpose of overawing the Saxon *burh*. The *burh* was, indeed, sacrificed to the castle. Before the Conquest, the city of York was divided into seven "scyræ," one of which belonged to the archbishop. Domesday Book records that, of the rest "una . . . est vastata in castellis."[1] And, while one fortress was set on the edge of the Saxon rampart which enclosed the northern *burh*, the other, as we have noted, was set well outside that of the southern *burh*, although at a later date it was included within the city by an extension of the ramparts.

William I.'s great act of vengeance on the northern rebels was accomplished at the close of 1069, and he kept his Christmas at York, where the castles, fallen a prey to the insurgents, were reconstructed.[2] The result of his campaign is sufficiently apparent in the amount of waste land mentioned in the Yorkshire Domesday. To judge from the condition of the country, it is hardly probable that William's Norman grantees settled down on their Yorkshire property until it showed some signs of recovery. Military outposts, indeed, must have arisen on the frontiers of the wasted district not long after William's expedition. Richmond Castle was built by Earl Alan "to protect his tenants against the attacks of the English, who then had been disinherited everywhere, and of the Danes as well."[3] This was probably not long after 1071, when the death of the Saxon Earl Edwin occurred, and his estates were granted to Alan. In this case, we have a definite statement that the Norman earl, instead of raising his castle at Gilling, the

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[1] D. B., i. 298 *a* 1. *Cf.* Ord. Vit., as quoted (in note 1, p. 238) above, and also iv. 1 (Migne, *u.s.*, p. 306, col. 2 C.); of Winchester Castle: "Intra mœnia Guentæ . . . validam arcem construxit."

[2] Ord. Vit., iv. 7 (Migne, *u.s.*, col. 319 C.): "Rex autem tribunos et præsides cum armatorum manu qui restaurarent in urbe castella direxit." *Cf.* iv. 8 (*ibid.*, col. 321 A.): "Eboracum reversus complura illic castella restauravit," which suggests the reconstruction of other castles already founded between the Tees and Humber, and probably dismantled by the rebels and their Danish allies.

[3] *Genealogia Comitum Richmundiæ* (ex *Regist. Honoris Richmundiæ*, MS. Cotton, Faust. B. vii.), printed *ap.* Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, ed. Caley, &c., vol. v. p. 574 (Charters relating to Jervaulx Abbey, No. 15).

site of the hall of the Saxon lord, built his "castrum et munitionem" in a place near Gilling, and gave it the French name of Richmond (*divitem montem*).[1] Domesday, in its recapitulation of Yorkshire manors, mentions the one hundred and ninety-nine manors which were within the *castellatus* of Earl Alan.[2] The actual castle, however, is not mentioned; nor is it possible to identify any one of Alan's Yorkshire possessions in 1086 with Richmond.[3] The allusion to the York castles in Domesday has been referred to already. Domesday mentions one other castle in Yorkshire. "Tornoure" and some land in "Saxehale" are *infra metam castelli:* "Hesleuuode," "Mileforde," and other places are *infra metam Ilberti.*[4] Ilbert de Lacy held very large grants of land in the West Riding; and the castle at Pontefract, the head of his honour, was certainly founded by him before 1082.[5] The two castles at York, then, and the castles of Richmond and Pontefract, are alluded to or implied in Domesday. Add to this that the Chronicle of Meaux contains evidence for the founding of Skipsea Castle in the East Riding during the latter part of the eleventh century,[6] and that Ordericus Vitalis mentions the castle of "Blyth" in 1102, as having been previously a castle in the possession of Roger de Busli,[7] and we have all the evidence hitherto discovered as to the earliest castles

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[1] *Genealogia Comitum Richmundiæ.*, &c. (see note 3, p. 239).

[2] D. B., i. 340 *a* 2.

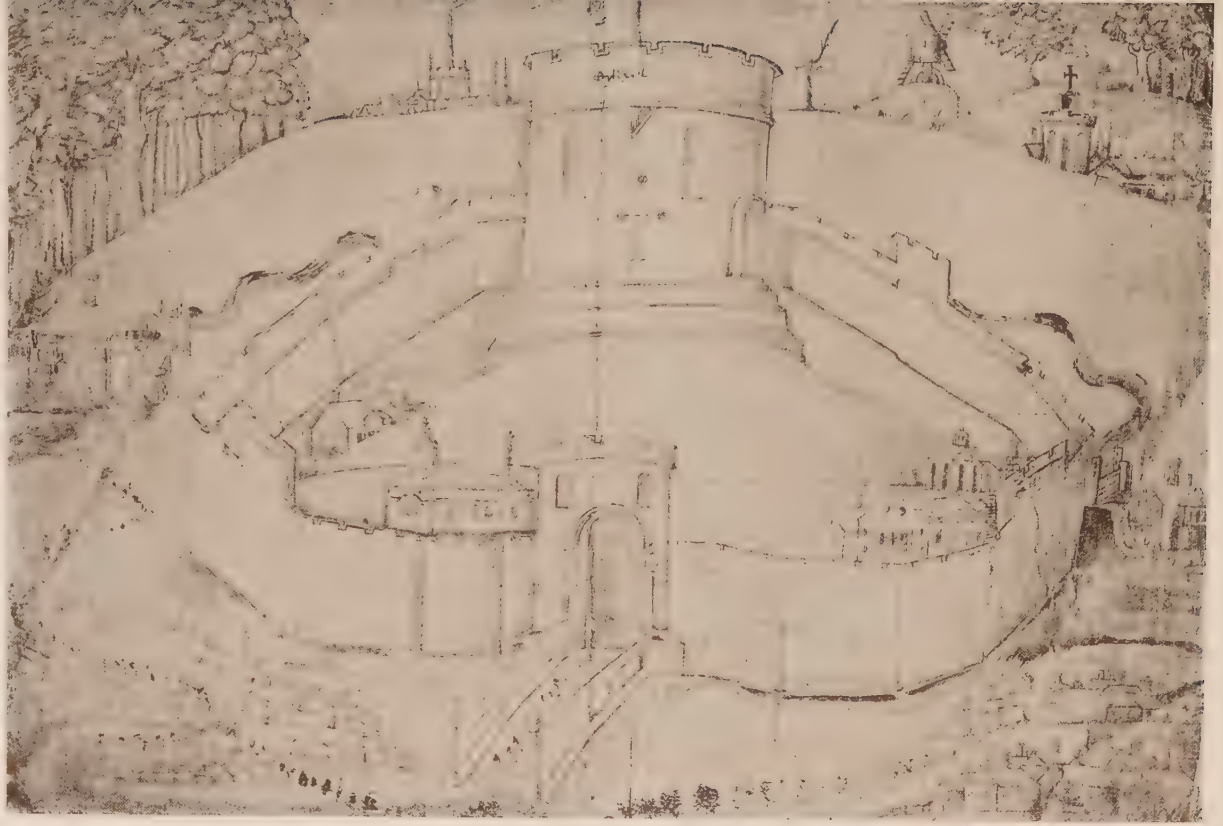
[3] See Mrs. Armitage's article alluded to (in note 3, p. 238), p. 423, note 24.

[4] D. B., i. 336 *b* 1. The full entry relating to Tornoure (Thorner) is: "Homines de Barcheston Wapent' et de Siraches Wapent' perhibent Osberno de Arcis testimonium quod Gulbertus antecessor eius habuit omnem Tornoure nesciunt cuius dono. Id est quatuor maneria octo carucatas terre. Sed omnis Tornoure sedet infra metam castelli Ilberti secundum primam mensuram et secundum nouissimam mensuram sedet extra." *Cf.* the entry relating to "Hesleuuode."

[5] Mrs. Armitage, *u.s.*, p. 417, cites a document printed by R. Holmes, *Hist. of Pontefract*, p. 62.

[6] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, pars i. cap. vi. (ed. E. A. Bond, 1866, vol. i., p. 89): "Dederat autem præfatus rex dictam insulam de Holdernesse prius. . . . Drugoni de la Bouerar Flandrensi, qui construxit castellum de Skypse."

[7] Ord. Vit., lib. xi. c. 3 (Migne, *u.s.*, col. 791 C.): "Unde rex ad Blidam castrum, quod Rogerii de Buthleio quondam fuerat, exercitum promovit."



TICKHILL CASTLE.

(Copy of drawing among the Duchy of Lancaster Records.)

in Yorkshire. The castle of Blyth is usually assumed to be Tickhill Castle, which is acknowledged to have lain within Roger's manor of Dadesley.[1] Blyth, just across the border of Nottinghamshire, was one of Roger's possessions;[2] and the fact that he founded there a priory, may have led Ordericus into speaking of the castle under this name.[3]

These six castles were all of the "mound-and-bailey" type. This is not absolutely certain in the case of Richmond, but the subsequent development of plan there leads us to infer that there was no exception here. Mounds remain in the other instances; and at Pontefract, besides the mound which received such singular treatment in later years, there was another mound at the opposite end of the enclosure.[4] This was, no doubt, expedient in view of the exposed situation of the castle on its high promontory of rock, which demanded strong positions of defence on the north-east, towards the valley of the Aire, and on the south-west, above the town.

Another important point, which has a direct bearing on the subject of military architecture, is that the defences of all these castles, except one, Richmond, were at first, and for some time continued to be, of wood. This has been stated already in connection with York Castle. Mrs. Armitage has collected evidence which fixes the date of the present stone keep, or at any rate of important permanent additions to the castle, between the thirtieth and forty-third years of Henry III.; she also has shown that as late as 1225 there was still, at all events in part, a timber palisade where we should expect a stone curtain.[5] It is not at all

[1] "Dadesleia" is mentioned in D. B., i. 319 *a* 1.

[2] D. B., i. 285 *a* 2. Blyth was in the soke of the manor of Odesach (Hodsock).

[3] Charter of foundation printed *ap.* Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, *u.s.*, iv. 623. See, on the vague name of "Blyth" given to Tickhill Castle, Dr. J. H. Round's article, mentioned above (in note 3, p. 238), p. 331.

[4] Mrs. Armitage (*u.s.*, pp. 417–19) gives notes on Pontefract, in which the existence of two mounds is forcibly pointed out.

[5] *u.s.*, pp. 445, 446.

unlikely that the £1927 odd devoted to the repair of the *castrum* by Henry III. included the cost of a stone curtain as well as that of a *turris* or donjon. None of the defensive masonry at Pontefract is of distinctly "Norman" character; the keep is probably contemporary with, or rather later than, the thirteenth-century keep at York. The fragment of "shell" keep which remains on the mound at Skipsea is obviously of later date than the mound itself; and at Tickhill the remains of the decagonal "shell" are, like those at Lincoln, work of the latest part of the twelfth century. The gatehouse at Tickhill is probably the earliest piece of stone fortification in any of these castles, except Richmond; and it is certainly not earlier than the twelfth century. This fidelity to timber defences must be taken into account when dealing with the comparative age of these works. Within Roger de Busli's honour of Tickhill occur at least two small "mound-and-bailey" enclosures, at Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Mexborough—tolerably perfect earthworks, without a trace of stone masonry.[1] We can no longer accept with confidence the pre-Conquest date which used to be given to them. They may have been castles thrown up in commanding positions by lieutenants of the lord of Tickhill, with a wooden keep on the mound, surrounded by a wooden stockade, such as we see depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. They may even be "adulterine" castles of the time of Stephen, thrown up in haste on the traditional lines, and dismantled almost as soon as built.[2] The remains of the castles of the Mowbrays at Thirsk and Malzeard, as well as at Kinnard's Ferry in the Isle of Axholme, all dismantled after the Mowbray rebellion in the reign of Henry II., the

[1] There are plans of both in Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 24, 25.

[2] Dr. J. H. Round makes special reference to the mounds at Laughton-en-le-Morthen and Barwick-in-Elmet, *Castles of the Conquest*, *u.s.*, p. 333. He says: "But we must remember that, as was done by William himself at Hastings, a castle mound would be thrown up at once for defence against a hostile population by the new Norman lord, and might afterwards be abandoned by him for another site. Ilbert de Lacy, for instance, may . . . have abandoned Barwick for Pontefract."

mound of the Bishop of Durham's castle at Northallerton, dismantled about the same time, show no traces of stone-work.[1] One is led to the conclusion that the castle buildings of the later eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries were, save in exceptional instances, of timber; that stone defences did not become usual until the reign of Henry II., nor general until much later.

The castle of Richmond, in the exceptional nature of its defences, takes a first place among the castles of Yorkshire. It stands on high ground to the south of the town, where a triangular promontory descends in precipices into the river Swale. Although it is commanded by higher ground, and would be an indefensible position in modern warfare, a finer situation for a mediæval castle could not well have been chosen. The present entrance is in the north-east curtain. On the right of the entrance, at the head of the triangular space formed by the castle enclosure, is the high stone keep, higher and narrower than the ordinary rectangular keep, which is said to have been the work of Earl Conan before his death in 1171. The south wall of the keep is actually built on the curtain. To the left of the entrance, in the east curtain, is the doorway into a small chapel of early Norman work, which is probably that chapel in the castle of Richmond which Alan gave to St. Mary's Abbey at York.[2] Opposite the entrance, at the far end of the ward, and placed against the south-east part of the curtain, is a range

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[1] Malzeard was taken in May 1174 by Geoffrey Plantagenet, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, and Roger, Archbishop of York (Ben. Pet., *Gesta Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, 1867, i. 68, 69). Geoffrey gave the custody of it to Roger, and that of a castle, which he *firmavit* at Topcliffe, to William d'Estouteville. Northallerton and Thirsk were surrendered to Henry II. at Northampton on 31st July (*ibid.*, i. 73). Thirsk and Malzeard were demolished in 1176 (*ibid.*, i. 126, 127); also Northallerton (Rog. de Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, 1869, ii. 101). Hoveden calls Northallerton "castellum novum de Alvertun" (*ibid.*, and ii. 65). Dr. Round (*u.s.*, pp. 325–327) shows that the phrase "castellum firmare" which Hoveden applies to his *castellum novum*, means to erect a castle on a new site.

[2] See charter of Henry II. *ap.* Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, *u.s.*, iii. 548 (Charters relating to St. Mary's Abbey, No. 5), "Alanus comes Rufus . . . [dedit] . . . ecclesiam de Richemund et capellam de castello."

of domestic buildings, of which the chief is the two-storeyed fabric known as Scolland's Hall. The west side of the enclosure is occupied by modern barracks.

The early Norman masonry includes a large portion of the curtain-wall. Herring-bone work, a very sure sign of early date, occurs along the south-western curtain. We have spoken of the chapel. The lowest stage of the keep is very different in character from those above it, and its semicircular-headed doorway, supported by shafts with volute ornaments on the capitals, is beyond all doubt a work of the eleventh century. The domestic buildings, as may be expected, are of various dates; but the fabric of the hall seems also to belong to the eleventh century.

What are we to gather from these remains? Richmond may from the beginning have been a fortress with a square tower-keep, like the Tower of London, or Colchester Castle. But, if so, the keep has gone; and the existence of early domestic buildings outside the keep—which was in most cases not merely a stronghold, but a residence as well—proves that, if it existed, its accommodation was not large. There were, however, some indications at one time of a mound;[1] and it seems possible that Alan's castle followed the "mound-and-bailey" plan. The curtain was of stone; and the entrance was through the gateway now forming the entrance to the lowest stage of the keep. The gateway may have been protected towards the town by a barbican, or it may have formed from the beginning the lowest stage of a tower, like the keep at Ludlow—in which case, the tower has been rebuilt. The hall and kitchen, and other domestic apartments, were built at the far side of the bailey, where it was least exposed to attack. This early occurrence of permanent household buildings in a castle is most unusual. The *loci classici* in the works of early French historians clearly point to the fact that the wooden donjons

[1] Mrs. Armitage's notes on Richmond will be found *u.s.*, pp. 422–424. At Newcastle, till the early part of the nineteenth century, traces remained of the mound which was superseded by the later tower-keep.

were planned for domestic use, and were so used out of time of siege.[1] The huge rectangular towers of the Conqueror, at London and Colchester, were designed with a similar view; and no one can visit the later towers of Hedingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, or Castle Rising, without recognising their ample provision for accommodation.[2] The sense of gloominess and discomfort inseparable from these great works may have been the cause which led to the short-lived popularity of the rectangular keep. The demand for greater space and comfort led to such buildings as Pudsey's halls along the north curtain at Durham, or Henry III.'s hall, which existed in the inner ward at Newcastle. It was not often that, as at Warkworth, the lord of a castle went back to live on the motte; and, even then, his arrangements for comfort were thought insufficient by his successors, who returned to the courtyard.

The rectangular keep of Richmond took the place of the keep on the motte, or of an earlier keep above the gateway, during the third quarter of the twelfth century. Built as a projection from the line of the northern curtain, its ground storey was entirely closed on the side of the town; and the entrance arch, which was left open, became merely an entrance from the bailey into the keep. At first the great tower seems to have had only two stages above the ground-floor: later, a third stage was added. The internal arrangements show no provision for ordinary residence: this was supplied by the hall within the bailey. A newel-stair, now blocked, was built at a later date inside the south-west corner of the ground-floor, and afforded access from the first floor to this chamber, where the well was situated. But there is an entrance to the first floor from the *chemin de ronde* of the ramparts, on the east side

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[1] See the quotations referring to the donjons of Ardres and Merchem, *ap.* Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, vol. ii., 1904, pp. 497–500. The second of these passages is also quoted by Clark (*op. cit.*, i. 33, 34), although it is difficult to see how it adds strength to his theory.

[2] See the plan of the keep of Castle Rising, *ap.* Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 366.

of the tower; and from this a straight staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to the second floor level. From the second floor another straight staircase, in the upper part of the same wall, leads to the third stage, or, as now, to the walk at the back of the battlements of the keep, the roof occurring above the second stage. Nothing could be more sombre than the interior of this tower, which has nothing in common with the comparative spaciousness of towers like the great keep of Newcastle. The keep of Richmond is purely a defensive structure. The cross-wall or walls which divide the floors of some tower-keeps into two or more rooms are wanting; there is no fore-building to contain a stair of approach with a chapel or vestibules to the lower floor beneath it; even the ordinary mural chambers of the tower-keep are lacking. At a date later than the erection of the tower the ground-storey was vaulted from a central pillar, within which was the well-shaft; at this time, too, the newel-stair from the first floor was probably made. The mound, if there was one, was levelled, and its site seems to have been converted into a barbican covering the new entrance to the castle.[1]

There are two other rectangular donjons within the territory of Earl Alan. It has been pointed out that, with the two notable exceptions raised by the Conqueror, the tower-keep is a feature in the castle-plan which belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century. The towers of Middleham and Bowes probably belong to its last quarter, the date usually assigned to Middleham being as late as 1190.[2] The great keep of Middleham, low in proportion

[1] There is a valuable account of Richmond Castle by Mr. J. F. Curwen, in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society*. His attribution of Scolland's Hall to the later part of the twelfth century is discredited, however, by the character of the masonry. This was shown clearly during the Durham meeting of the Archæological Institute (1908) by Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. J. Bilson.

[2] There is an account of the keep of Middleham by G. T. Clark (*op. cit.*, ii., 293–300), who assumed it to be the work of Robert Fitz-Ranulf, the grandson of Ribald, the founder of the castle, and grand-nephew of Earl Alan, about 1190.

Richmond Castle, the Keep.

to the length and breadth of its oblong plan, stands in the middle of the castle; the curtain and adjacent buildings are for the most part the work of the Nevilles, who obtained the lordship of Middleham early in the fourteenth century, by the marriage of Robert Neville with the heiress of the younger branch of the house of Alan. Of the early history of Bowes Castle nothing is known; and all traces of the enclosure except the tower, of smaller proportions than that of Middleham, are gone. The tower of Bowes was entered from the first floor, probably by a wooden staircase; the stages, three in number, were undivided by a cross-wall: vaulting, as at Richmond, was inserted in the ground-storey at a date later than the actual work of building.[1] The tower of Middleham, on the other hand, was entered from the first floor by a fore-building and barbican-tower, which covered a portion of its eastern side; in the fore-building was the chapel, not, as at Newcastle, beneath the staircase, but opening from the main entrance-landing, opposite the doorway of the keep. A partition-wall divides the two stages of tower into eastern and western portions. The eastern and larger portion was raised a stage higher towards the end of the Middle Ages. This keep may fairly be called residential, in distinction from the purely defensive character of the tower of Richmond.

Two more tower-keeps of twelfth-century date are found in the North Riding. The tower of Scarborough was probably built by Henry II. after his annexation of the castle to the Crown.[2] It is of three stages: the main entrance, like that of the tower of Bamburgh, was on the ground floor, but was protected by a fore-building, or

[1] Description and plan of Bowes *ap.* Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 259–264.

[2] William of Newburgh, lib. ii. cap. 2, records the surrender of Scarborough Castle to Henry II. early in his reign by William, Count of Aumâle, and devotes cap. 3 to a description of the site. He says that Count William, "totam rupis planitiem muro amplexus est, et turrim in faucium angustiis fabricavit qua processu temporis collapsa, arcem magnam et præclaram Rex ibidem œdificari præcepit." The Pipe Rolls contain evidence as to the progress of the work. Henry II. committed the castle to the custody of Archbishop Roger in May 1177 (Ben. Pet., *u.s.*, i. 160).

barbican. The first floor was divided into two, as at Hedingham, by an arch, which carried the partition-wall of the floor above. The magnificent position of the castle is familiar to almost every one. The cliff, nearly isolated by a deep ravine from the mainland, is approached by a narrow and steep neck of rock, defended by a gatehouse and barbican. The inner entrance leads us at once into the ward which contains the keep. Beyond this, separated from the main ward by a cross-curtain, was a large ward occupying the seaward portion of the summit of the cliff. A somewhat similar disposition of plan, but with a noticeable difference in the size of the chief ward, occurs at the fourteenth-century castle of Dunstanburgh in Northumberland.[1] The plan of Scarborough suggests that the principal ward, at the entrance of the castle, represents the "mound-and-bailey" castle of the Counts of Aumâle. It is possible that, when Henry II. annexed the fortress, he levelled the mound and raised the tower on its site, and enlarged the plan to include a garrison-ward on the seaward side. A hall, known as the King's Hall, and other domestic buildings, were added in process of time along the south curtain. The other tower, probably the latest of the series in date, is that of Helmsley Castle, which may not have been built till the early years of the thirteenth century.[2] The interest of the tower of Helmsley is overshadowed, however, by that of the double line of earthworks which surround the castle. The plan, with its two encircling ditches and its front and back approaches, takes us forward in thought to the concentric plans of the later part of the thirteenth century—to Caerphilly or Harlech. It is no case here of an original elongated plan which, like that of the Tower of London, has become concentric by expansion—the plan of Helmsley Castle must have been concentric from the first.

[1] The licence to crenellate Dunstanburgh was granted (9 Edw. II.) to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (T. H. Turner, *Dom. Arch. in England*, iii. 407).

[2] G. T. Clark, in his account of Helmsley Castle (*op. cit.*, ii. 100–108), assigned the work to Robert de Ros, surnamed Fursan.

Richmond and Scarborough, it has been said already, are examples of castles where possibly mounds have been levelled and rectangular tower-keeps built instead. It may have been the intention of the early Norman castle-founders to build stone towers on their mounds after the newly piled earth, in the course of years, had hardened. But the heavy rectangular tower was ill suited to the conical mound; and even where, as at Hedingham, the mound was retained, it was retained only in part. If the mound was kept intact on the addition of the masonry, the keep took a lighter form and a polygonal shape. The top of the mound was not weighted with a stone tower, but surrounded by an independent curtain-wall, whose shape exercised an even pressure on the surface of the artificial earthwork below. This curtain took the place of the stockade of timber which had fortified the mound previously; and it is possible that it girt about, as the stockade had done, the wooden tower-keep of the early founders. The most conspicuous examples of these polygonal keeps are at Pickering, where the wall is circular internally, and at Tickhill. In neither case was masonry added on the mound until quite late in the twelfth century. Tickhill Castle occupies a "mound-and-bailey" site; and the earliest masonry extant there is probably the Norman gatehouse.[1] At Pickering the mound is nearly central, and forms a break in the curtain between the two wards. Whatever the early history of Pickering may be, the keep was probably the earliest addition in stone to the castle. The curtain and the rectangular towers which guard it are later in date; and their building may have been attended by an expansion of the plan into two wards.[2]

The two periods of castle-construction during the

[1] The account of Tickhill Castle, by Clark (*op. cit.*, ii. 494–499), is a striking instance of his use of the theory of the foundation of Norman castles, to whose untrustworthiness allusion has been made. See his concluding remarks on p. 499.

[2] For Pickering, see Clark (*op. cit.*, ii. 368–375). Once more an English origin is claimed for the earthwork (p. 372).

Norman and early Plantagenet epochs, allowing for exceptions, are: first, a period of earthworks of a fixed type, with timber defences; and, second, a period in which plans are enlarged and defences are built, at least in part, of stone. This second period, in Yorkshire, follows the triumph of Henry II. over the Mowbray rebellion. The earthen castles of the rebels were stripped of their defences: old castles, like Scarborough, were strengthened and transformed. However, the form of defensive tower adopted, both for keep and curtain-tower, was still rectangular. The difficulty of defending the rectangular tower is obvious; its projecting angles demand a concentration of defence on points isolated from one another, and impede a comprehensive survey of the attacking force. The angles also lend themselves easily to undermining or the use of the battering-ram: when once the attacking force has an angle of the tower at its mercy, the tower is virtually taken. The French engineers of the twelfth century recognised the advantage of the round form for their donjons and curtain-towers;[1] and, at the very end of the twelfth century, their system was adopted by English masters of fortification. The cylindrical tower covered the approaches to the fortress more thoroughly than the rectangular, and therefore was more easy to defend. The battering-ram could do little damage to its wedge-shaped stones and the broad outward slope of its base; the miner could begin operations only in full view of the defenders. The older keeps depended on the massive thickness of their walls for safety: they were great bulks of passive masonry. The cylindrical towers were at once more impregnable and better fitted to be centres of active warfare.

Our Yorkshire castles of this date can hardly supply us with adequate parallels to the great French and Norman

[1] For a statement of the advantages of the convex curve in fortification, see Enlart (*op. cit.*, ii. 455). Illustrations and plans of Château Gaillard and Coucy, &c., will be found in the same volume. Clark describes both these castles (*op. cit.*, i. 378–385, 476–487).

fortifications of the period. The donjon of Conisbrough is far smaller than the gigantic donjon of Coucy. The small solid round towers on the curtains of Conisbrough, Knaresborough, and Scarborough are of the same class as those which, set closely side by side, emboss the inner curtain of Château Gaillard, but their scale of design is far less imposing. Still, Conisbrough becomes immense when compared with the cylindrical donjons of the Welsh border, where such towers are most common—Bronllys, Tretower, Hawarden. Conisbrough, the head of the Yorkshire barony of the Earls of Warren, occupies a strong situation on a hill above the Don, where it passes in a narrow valley through the high-lying ground between Rotherham and Doncaster.[1] Probably the site of an old hall or palace of the kings of Northumbria, it afforded a fit site for a Norman stronghold; and the first castle which occupied the top of the hill, although no definite evidence exists on this point, was most likely of the "mound-and-bailey" class. The top of the hill now forms the inner ward, which is surrounded by the curtain-wall to whose solid round towers allusion has been made already. The keep stands on the line of the curtain, near the north-east corner, partly inside the ward, partly projecting outwards. It is a hollow cylinder of masonry, in its present state about ninety feet high, and fifty-two feet in diameter above the basement. It is surrounded at intervals by six heavy rectangular buttresses. The masonry of the lower portion slopes outwards very considerably. The tower in elevation consists of a basement, three upper storeys, and a battlement-stage, the centre of which probably contained a cylindrical kitchen, which also could have

[1] G. T. Clark (*op. cit.*, i. 431–453) has a very elaborate description of Conisbrough, with several illustrations and plans of great interest. If (as is likely) Conisbrough was an important place in early Saxon times, it does not follow that Saxon earthworks (if there were any here) were employed by Norman builders. Sandal, another Yorkshire castle of the Warrens, has a moated mound of the usual Norman type, with fragments of masonry of a much later date. There is a plan of Sandal in the programme of the Yorkshire Archæological Society's excursion to Wakefield, September 22, 1905.

served as a kind of round-house for the defenders, with a conical roof. The basement, which contains the well, is approached only through a hole in the first floor, and, in common with other dark apartments of the kind, has given rise to fanciful stories of the cruelty of the feudal baron. The main entrance, now approached directly by a flight of steps, is on the first floor. Here would have been the guard-room or *salle d'armes* of the keep. A staircase winds through the thickness of the wall to the first floor; and similar staircases lead from the first to the second floor, and from the second floor to the rampart-stage. The first and second floors are each occupied by a single apartment, with adjacent mural chambers. Each room contains a very handsome fireplace and a water-drain in the north-west part of the wall; and, on the second floor, the south-east buttress is hollowed out into a chapel, with two bays of ribbed vaulting, and with a small mural sacristy or priest's chamber attached. At the rampart-level, the top of one of the buttresses is hollowed out to form an oven; two of the rest contain cisterns, and another is pierced in a way which has suggested to Mr. Clark, and others, that it may have been intended as a house for carrier-pigeons. The attempt to combine fairly comfortable domestic accommodation with provision for a siege is very noticeable here. The masonry, of large blocks of yellowy-white sandstone, remarkably fine-jointed and fresh-looking, seems to belong to the very end of the twelfth century; the architectural character of the chapel points, at any rate, to its last quarter. In 1163, Isabel, heiress of the third Earl of Warren and Surrey, married, as her second husband, Hamelin, a bastard brother of Henry II. Hamelin, who was styled Earl of Warren, died in 1201; his wife in 1199. The donjon, therefore, was almost certainly built in their lifetime. The curtain of the inner ward seems rather later in date.

The approach to the inner ward at Conisbrough shows that advance in military planning which marks the opening of the thirteenth century. A deep hollow cuts off the hill

Conisbrough Castle, the Keep.

of the inner ward from the village of Conisbrough. This hollow formed the outer ward of the castle. When the ditch that divided the outer ward from the hill was crossed, a narrow path led along the side of the hill to the inner gateway. This pathway formed a barbican to the inner ward; on one side was the inner curtain, on the other a covering wall. An invading party, who had stormed the outer ward, would have to pass in file along this narrow passage to gain the inner, and would be at the mercy of the defending garrison on the ramparts. Let them once occupy the inner ward, and before them would be the impregnable keep, with its doorway fast closed, the drawbridge which led to it from the steps drawn up, twenty feet above the ground, and its battering base forbidding close access to the wall, and exposing them to the fire of the defenders, whose dropping missiles fell directly on them, or rebounded on them from the *talus* of the keep. The difficulty and tediousness of siege-warfare is obvious. With a powerful baronage owning such strongholds, it is also obvious that it was to the advantage of the crown to obtain the ownership, if possible.

The thirteenth-century keep of York Castle, now known as Clifford's Tower, consists of four round towers attached in quatrefoil form. Closely allied to this in shape, but with an important difference in the treatment of its site, was the keep[1] of Pontefract, of which the fourth tower, if there was one, is gone. This keep is of a date probably not long subsequent to that of Clifford's Tower. But, while Clifford's Tower is built on the motte of the Conqueror's castle, the south-western motte at Pontefract is enclosed within a solid wall of revêtement which forms the base of the keep. This is not an unique instance of such an enclosure, for at Berkeley, in the twelfth century, the motte, or rather its lower portion, the upper

[1] Pontefract is described by Clark, *op. cit.*, ii. 375–388, who overlooked the existence of a second mound in this remarkable plan.

having been levelled, had been encased by the lower courses of the walls, which, with their fore-building, give to the inner ward the appearance and strength of a huge rectangular tower-keep;[1] and the tower-keep at Kenilworth had possibly enclosed the lower part, at any rate, of the levelled mound.[2] But the keep at Pontefract belongs to a different class of fabric; and neither at Berkeley nor at Kenilworth was the mound treated as a solid bastion which supported and gave additional strength to the keep. Pontefract, the fortress of the Lacies and their descendants, the Earls of Lincoln, was called the "Key of Yorkshire";[3] and its history is more full of events than that of any other castle in the shire. The ownership of the castle reverted from time to time to the crown; and, during the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, it was bestowed twice on a royal grantee, in consequence of the disaffection of the second Ilbert de Lacy. The heiress of the first line of Lacy married Richard Fitz-Eustace, constable of Chester, the son of Eustace Fitz-John, the lord of Knaresborough and Malton Castles, and the founder of the line which owned the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth. The son of Albreda de Lacy and Richard Fitz-Eustace took the name of Lacy; and this second house of Lacy, which acquired the earldom of Lincoln by marriage early in the thirteenth century, held, with a few intervals, the castle and honour of Pontefract for more than a century. In 1310 Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and, through his wife, of Salisbury, died. In his lifetime he had granted his castle to Edward I., and had received a re-grant of it, with remainder to the king's brother,

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[1] See Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 236: "Evidently the Norman builder, finding a moated mound of no great height, but of considerable breadth, built his shell round it, as at Pontefract, as a revêtement wall." Here the influence of Mr. Clark's favourite theory is clearly discernible.

[2] Clark, *u.s.*, ii. 181, notes that the walls of the keep include and are built against a decidedly artificial mound, from 10 to 15 feet high.

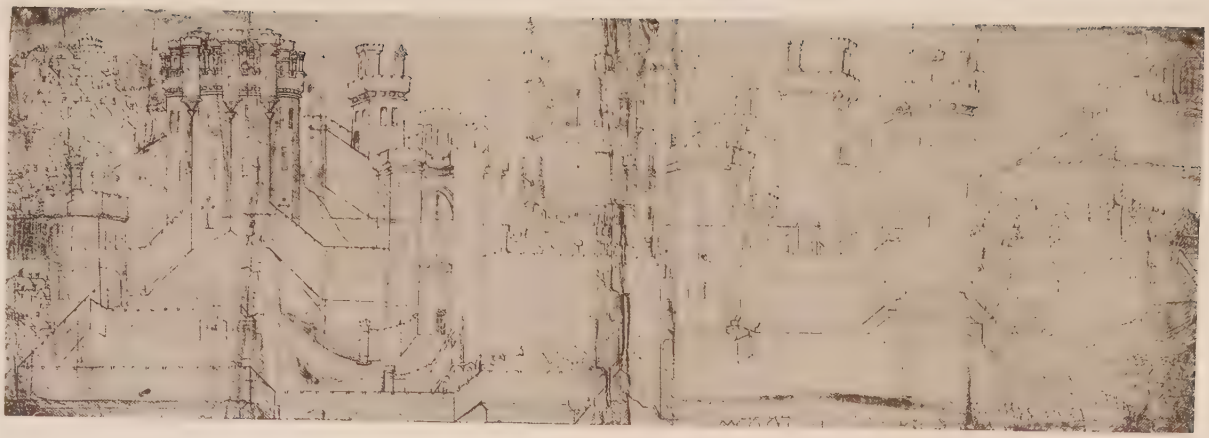
[3] See a letter from R. de Nevill to Henry III. (1263), printed by Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pt. i. 1816, p. 429: "Ad hoc bonum esset ut michi videbor, et tutum quod castrum de Pontefracto, quod est quasi clavis in comitatu Eborum, viris potentibus esset præmunitum."

Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Earl Henry's daughter and heiress, Alice, married the son of Edmund, the ill-fated Thomas, who, defeated at Boroughbridge in 1322, was executed at Pontefract, and was venerated popularly as a saint and martyr. Pontefract Castle was restored, with the other possessions of Thomas, which included Pickering Castle, to his brother Henry; and through Blanche, the granddaughter of Earl Henry, it passed, with her duchy of Lancaster, to her husband, John of Gaunt. With the accession to the throne of his son, Henry IV., it became permanently a crown castle. During John of Gaunt's ownership a range of buildings was added at the north-west end of the enclosure, whose erection certainly involved the revêtement of the second mound of which mention has been made. The subsequent history of the castle is full of famous incidents. Here it was that Richard II. died or was murdered. In the Wars of the Roses, Pontefract was the base of operations from which Edward IV. went out to the victory of Towton. It was the prison and place of execution of Earl Rivers and his companions after the *coup d'état* struck by the Duke of Gloucester at Northampton. In 1536 it was somewhat too tamely surrendered by Lord Darcy to the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Its three sieges in the Parliamentary Wars form the most stirring episode of that period in Yorkshire. It survived its first siege, and remained a Royalist stronghold after the battle of Marston Moor and the taking of York. Forced to surrender in 1645, it was again manned by a Royalist garrison, and withstood a third siege, surrendering in 1649.

John of Gaunt, who had acquired Pontefract Castle by marriage, became lord also of Pickering by the same alliance. By an arrangement with his father, he acquired the royal castle of Tickhill in 1362. Tickhill, the fortress of Roger de Busli and his son Robert, had been held after Robert's death by the famous Robert de Bellême. On his rebellion it had been resumed by the Crown. It had been

held by John during his rebellion against Richard I., and had undergone a siege in 1322, during the revolt of Thomas of Lancaster. In 1371 Edward III. also granted Knaresborough Castle to John of Gaunt. The remarkable keep of Knaresborough [1] had been built earlier in the fourteenth century, possibly at the beginning of the reign of Edward III. This rectangular building, about 80 feet high, and forming an oblong of 64 feet by 52, stands on the line of the curtain; but a cross-curtain seems to have crossed the enclosure from it, and to have divided the castle area into two wards. The first floor of the keep formed the gatehouse between the two wards, the doorway to the outer ward being furnished with a portcullis, and having been approached possibly by a gradually rising causeway on arches. This entrance is in the south-east face. A wider doorway in the south-west face led to the stairs by which the inner ward was approached. This instance of a rectangular keep on such a large scale is unusually late; the use of the first floor in this way would seem to be unique. The Knaresborough keep has also in its basement a chamber probably intended as a prison; chambers made with this special intention are very rare at an early date. The service to which store-rooms, cellars, and meaner offices have been put in later and probably more barbarous ages is hastily assumed to have been their original employment. As a matter of fact, very few positive examples of prison-chambers may be cited earlier than this one at Knaresborough, and the probably slightly earlier one in the gatehouse of the inner ward at Alnwick. Another, not dissimilar to that at Alnwick, but later in date, occurs in the early fifteenth-century keep at Warkworth. A further point about Knaresborough Castle is its elaborately vaulted kitchen on the ground floor of the keep. The residential purpose of the keep is thus indicated; if it did not supply all the accommodation necessary for a royal visit, banquets, at

[1] Knaresborough is described by G. T. Clark, *op. cit.*, ii. 168–176.



PONTEFRACT CASTLE.
(Copy of drawing among the Duchy of Lancaster Records).

any rate, could be held in the great chamber on the second storey, and that chamber would serve for the lodging of a large number of the king's retinue. As a reversion to an earlier type of keep, Knaresborough shows none of that originality in planning which marks that masterpiece among fortified mansions, the later mound-keep at Warkworth.

The transition from the military stronghold to the fortified mansion is noticeable in such a building as Gilling Castle, south of Helmsley, where, in the course of the fourteenth century, a member of the family of Elton built the large tower-house, the basement of which remains as the substructure of the eastern part of the present building. Its remarkable area, as compared with that of other mansions of the time in which the tower-plan was adopted—*e.g.* the fortified towers of Northumberland—has been commented on by Mr. Bilson.[1] The most striking example, however, of a fortress-mansion is Bolton Castle, in Wensleydale, built by Richard, Lord Scrope, in the second half of the fourteenth century.[2] The house is rectangular in shape, planned with a projecting tower at each of the four angles, and with an internal courtyard. There is no moat, nor any distinct sign of an outer bailey, or "barmkin," as it would have been called in the strong-houses of Northumberland. The castle chapel, which stands to the north of the building, at some distance from the walls, may have been within some outer enclosure originally. While the strength of the building was well attended to, its domestic arrangements were also carefully provided for. Two halls remain, a larger and smaller,[3] their floor-levels being upon the stage above the ground floor. Such halls, with kitchens and other

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[1] *Gilling Castle*, by John Bilson, F.S.A., in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, vol. xix., 1907, pp. 105–192. Mr. Bilson (p. 143) is inclined to attribute the building to Thomas de Elton (fl. 1354–1495).

[2] The licence to crenellate is dated 1379. See list of licences, *ap.* T. H. Turner, *Dom. Arch. in England*, vol. iii., 1859, p. 418. 1379 is also the date at which John, Lord Neville, received licence to crenellate Raby Castle.

[3] See T. H. Turner's account of the castle, *ibid.*, ii. 227–231, with the quotation from Leland, *Itinerary*, viii. f. 53.

domestic apartments, we have seen introduced within the curtain at an early date, as at Richmond, or as an afterthought in times long subsequent to the foundation of the castle, as at Scarborough. For a nearer connection between the castle and its "lodgings," where the "lodgings" are not a mere encroachment upon the enclosure, but form the natural inner facing of the curtain, we have to go to Caerphilly and its successors among the Welsh castles. At Bolton and kindred houses, there is no more question of a curtain to protect the lodgings. Their walls, with outer as well as inner windows, are the walls of the castle enclosure; and Bolton, with all its defensive features, has points in common with a small and inconspicuously defended manor-house like Markenfield.[1] The plan with rectangular towers at the angles, either with or without a central courtyard, is found frequently in the north, where a larger area was required than the tower-house would permit. Lumley Castle, near Chester-le-Street, rebuilt in 1392, is a case in point which may be compared with Bolton. The plan of Bolton was probably followed at Sheriff Hutton, when the castle was rebuilt by John, Lord Neville of Raby, who also was the builder of Raby Castle, and lies buried in Durham Cathedral.[2] Sheriff Hutton Castle is now in a state of utter ruin; but large fragments of its angle towers remain, and are a familiar sight, on their hill some two or three miles north of the railway, to the traveller from York to Scarborough. There were, at any rate, earthworks of earlier date at Sheriff Hutton, and the enclosure was larger than at Bolton, including an outer bailey. Both Sheriff Hutton and Middleham formed part of the Neville estates which came to Richard, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, the "King-maker." After Warwick's revolt and death at Barnet, Edward IV. granted the castles to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who afterwards married

[1] For Markenfield, see Turner, *u.s.*, ii. 231–234.

[2] The licence to crenellate Sheriff Hutton bears date 5 Rich. II. (1381) (Turner, *u.s.*, iii. 419).

Anne Neville, the daughter of Warwick. As Richard III., Gloucester imprisoned his nephew Edward, the son of Clarence, at Sheriff Hutton; and it was from here that Henry VII. transferred him to the Tower. Here, too, Elizabeth of York was kept in custody; and from Sheriff Hutton she was taken to London to marry Henry VII.[1]

Wressel Castle, at the confluence of the Ouse and Derwent, and Snape Castle, between Bedale and Masham, are other examples of quadrangular fortified houses with angle-towers. Snape, which is fairly perfect, belonged to a branch of the Nevilles who obtained by marriage the barony of Latimer. Danby, a fourteenth-century castle of the Latimers in Cleveland, which also became Neville property, was of a similar plan. Wressel, built by Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, brother of the first Earl of Northumberland, became the chief Yorkshire house of the Percys, whose original Yorkshire home was at Topcliffe, near Thirsk. Only part of one side of Wressel remains; but it was a house of great size and splendour. Another important Percy house was Spofforth Castle, near Knaresborough, of which there are considerable ruins.[2] Harewood Castle was another quadrangular mansion, which was probably built and fortified by Sir William de Aldburgh in 1367.[3] A projecting gateway led into the screens between the hall and kitchen, while the rest of the house lay round the quadrangle beyond. This plan, however, is that of a dwelling-house pure and simple; the crenellations and the portcullis of the entrance-gateway are all that give it a right to be

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[1] A miniature effigy of a male figure wearing a coronet, in the north chancel-chapel of Sheriff Hutton Church, has been supposed to be that of a member of the house of York; and it has been suggested that it is the effigy of the infant son of Richard III. and Anne Neville, who died at Middleham. The arms on the tomb, however, are those of Neville; and the miniature effigy does not necessarily imply that the tomb covers the grave of an infant. Such effigies, set up above the graves of adults, are to be seen in Colyton and Marldon churches, South Devon; and not improbably the effigy at Haccombe near Newton Abbot, may be reckoned with these.

[2] The licence to crenellate bears date 2 Edw. II. (*ibid.*, iii. 405).

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 416.

called a castle. Of other castles of later date we have traces and sometimes substantial remains, but of their plans it is difficult to say much. This is the case with Cawood, the castle of the archbishops of York, near the meeting of Ouse and Wharfe. Here the tower-gatehouse, apparently of a quadrangle like that at Harewood, is left, with some buildings adjacent on either side; the gatehouse is built of grey Yorkshire stone, and above its outer gateway are the arms of Archbishop Kempe, who was translated from York to Canterbury in 1452. The castle of the bishops of Durham at Crayke, on a high hill overlooking the forest of Galtres and the distant city of York, is a rectangular building of the middle of the fifteenth century, but has been much restored from its ruined condition, to serve as a modern residence. At Whorlton, between Northallerton and Stokesley, the fine and massively built gate-tower of the castle of the Meynills still stands; but of the rest of the castle buildings very little indeed is left. The gate-tower is of the later part of the fourteenth century. The position of the castle, if less abrupt than that of Crayke, is very striking—on a steep spur of the Cleveland hills, sloping to the valley of the Leven on the north, backed by the high summits which flank the entrance of Scugdale, and with the old parish church of Whorlton, now unfortunately in ruins, at its side. A very picturesque gatehouse-tower at Tanfield, near Masham, is all that remains of the strong-house of the Marmions.[1] It is of the fifteenth century, and, with its small first-floor bay-window corbelled out above the gateway, is, like the Cawood gatehouse, of a type more domestic than the military gate-tower at Whorlton. What remains of the castle of the Fitzhughs at Ravensworth, near Richmond, is also of fifteenth-century character.

With the progress of the Tudor period, castle-building ceases; and the large dwelling-house, with its light and

[1] *Ibid.*, iii. 407 (8 Edw. II.), there is a licence to John Marmyon to crenellate "Mansum suum quod vocatur L'ermitage in bosco suo de" Tanfield.

comfort, takes the place of the fortified mansion. Thus, at Skipton Castle, purely domestic work, with broad mullioned windows, of the reign of Henry VIII., may be seen in close proximity to military work of the early part of the fourteenth century. Above the fourteenth-century work at Gilling, we have Elizabethan work of the most beautiful description, rich with painting, plaster-work, and stained glass.[1] Slingsby Castle, to the east of Gilling, has wide mullioned windows, which apparently were inserted in earlier walls—the date of which is rather hard to determine—at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[2] Warfare in which castles played a principal part had ceased; and the castle, if it was not left for more cheerful quarters, became a residence and nothing more. One revival of castle warfare is seen in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The insurgents took Pontefract Castle, and attempted to take the castles of Scarborough and Skipton. But it was during the Parliamentary Wars that the last attempt in England at warfare by siege and defence took place. The castles were held, for the most part, by Royalists, and formed strong centres of disaffection. York, relieved for a time by Prince Rupert, succumbed after the battle of Marston Moor; and castles such as Helmsley, Skipton, Tickhill, and Knaresborough yielded to their besiegers soon after. As a rule, such strongholds were destroyed after their capture; even the less purely military castles, like Cawood and Wressel, perished in this way. Knaresborough was not destroyed till 1648. Pontefract, as we have seen, and Scarborough survived to receive fresh garrisons of Royalists, and to surrender once again to the armies of the Parliament. The work of rebuilding the destroyed castles was a useless task; the day was past when a licence to crenellate was

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[1] The work of Sir William Fairfax (d. 1597). It was completed in 1585 (Bilson, *u.s.*, p. 145). Subsequent additions were made in the early part of the eighteenth century.

[2] Ralph Hastyngs had a licence (18 Edw. III.) to crenellate his "*mansum*" of Slyngesby (*ibid.*, iii. 414).

a substantial privilege to the private gentleman. The castle buildings now became purely objects of sentiment and historical interest, save in cases where they were made, most inhumanly, into prisons. In Yorkshire, as elsewhere in England, little care was taken to preserve what remained from picturesque ruin. In an age of revived enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, their fragments were often looked on with veneration as of untold antiquity; legends sprang up about terrible dungeons and underground passages from ruin to ruin, a perfect system of sub-ways, linking castle with castle and (most grateful to the scandal-loving mind) with abbey; and earthworks, such as those at Barwick-in-Elmet [1] or Laughton-en-le-Morthen, which had survived the decay of timber or stone superstructures, were credited with almost prehistoric age. Such traditions are still only too common; but we are working away from them by degrees; and our growing knowledge of the origin and development of the castle and its plan, if it allows less room to the allurements of imagination, invests these remains with a new interest, guiding us from the province of vague and unintelligent rumour to a clearer perception of historical facts, and of the bearing of the history of structural art on that of political and social progress.

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

THE old views of the castles of Pontefract and Tickhill, here reproduced, are taken from originals preserved among the Duchy of Lancaster records in the Public Record Office (Duchy of Lancaster, Maps and Plans, Nos. 113, 115). Mr. Richard Holmes reproduced two engravings, made in the eighteenth century from the view of Pontefract Castle, in his volume on *The Sieges of Pontefract Castle;* but the actual view had not then been identified among the public records. The more trustworthy of these engravings, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1735 (*Vetusta Monumenta*,

[1] See note 2 on page 242.

No. 34), was also reproduced with explanatory notes by Mr. Holmes in the *Yorkshire Weekly Post* of 13th July 1889. The date at which the views were drawn is uncertain, and Mr. Holmes was disposed to attribute that of Pontefract to the early part of the fourteenth century. The present writer is inclined to think that they were made more probably towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The survey which is pinned on to the view of Pontefract, as also a survey pinned to a corresponding view of Knaresborough Castle, is clearly, from internal evidence, of that date. To the view of Pontefract is also pinned a drawing of the Swillington Tower of that castle; the identification below is written in a hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, while the identification "pontfract" on the general view appears to be earlier. "Tykehill," written prominently on the parapet of the donjon in the Tickhill view, is an identification probably contemporary with the view. In the general view of Pontefract, Swillington Tower is seen in the background, to the left of the Queen's Tower, which is the tower projecting into the north-eastern portion of the castle enclosure, with a round-headed doorway on the ground-floor. That the draughtsman, in both cases, was roughly faithful to the general details of the collection of buildings with which he was dealing is not to be doubted; but it is also probable that he here and there allowed a certain amount of imagination to enter into his elevations. In treating the surroundings of the castles, he also has allowed himself some topographical freedom. These were treated even more freely in the *Vetusta Monumenta* engraving of Pontefract, so that Mr. Holmes, trusting to the general accuracy of that engraving, identified the church on the right with St. Helen's chapel, and that on the left as possibly representing St. Michael's at Foulsnape. From the details of the original view, it is clear that the draughtsman intended the church on the right to represent All Saints', with its octagonal lantern on the rectangular lower stage of its central tower, and that on the left to represent the church of St. Giles in the upper town, without strict regard to their actual positions with respect to the castle. The building on the hill beyond All Saints' seems intended to represent the church raised on the spot popularly hallowed by the execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. The ruinous character of this building (indistinguishable in the engraving of 1735), points to the date for the view suggested by the present writer; while the introduction of the tower of All Saints', apart from other architectural features implied by portions of the drawing, appears to make a fourteenth-century date untenable. The drawing of Tickhill Church, at the back of the outer earthwork of the castle, is of the roughest type; but the tall pinnacles of fifteenth-century work on each side of the east window clearly struck the draughtsman's fancy. The importance given to the square chimneys of the small town houses in both views (entirely neglected by the Pontefract engraver of 1735), may also be noted as a characteristic more likely to appeal to a sixteenth-century than to a fourteenth-century artist. In spite of the roughness of some of the details of the views, that of Tickhill may be taken as a faithful representation of the walled castle enclosure, with its almost central mound and keep, its chapel, domestic buildings, and

offices within the encircling wall, and its moat, bridge, and mill, of which the Civil Wars have left to us little more than the earthworks and gate-house; while the view of Pontefract gives us some idea of the magnificence of the castle which played so important a part in the history of the fourteenth century, which became the headquarters of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire, and lost little of its strength and architectural splendour before its dismantling in the seventeenth century.

BEVERLEY AND ITS MINSTER

By the Rev. Canon Nolloth, D.D.

NESTLING at the foot of the Wolds, some eight miles to the north of its comparatively modern neighbour, Kingston-upon-Hull, lies the ancient capital of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Picturesque enough it looks as you approach it by the York road, with the park-like expanse of Westwood in the foreground and the two great churches towering high above the red-tiled roofs below. Scarcely less beautiful is the entrance into Beverley by the New Walk, with its noble trees and quaint old Sessions House; soon, passing under the North Bar (an embattled gateway of the early fifteenth century), a street vista which few towns can rival is presented to the view. On the left, the graceful turrets and open-work battlements of St. Mary's Church are seen through the trees; in the middle distance rises the eighteenth-century Market Cross, which doubtless replaced a much finer Gothic structure; and, finally, the prospect is closed by the lofty fretted towers of the Minster. Other notable buildings are, the Guildhall, or (as it was anciently termed) the Hans House, the new East Riding County Hall, the Corn Exchange, the remains of the Dominican Friary, and the new Free Library, for which the borough is indebted to the munificence of a former townsman.

The history of Beverley is, to a great extent, the history of its Minster. Enshrining the memory of a great personality, "the most venerated of all the northern saints except St. Cuthbert," pilgrims from all parts of England came to pay their devotions at the tomb of St. John of Beverley.

His standard was borne before the army on many a battle-field; and kings and queens, from the days of Athelstan onward to those of Henry VI., would come to Beverley to implore the intercession of the saint before the commencement of a campaign, or to give thanks for victory at its close.

As a consequence, Beverley increased rapidly in size and importance until it became one of the principal towns of England, a position it occupied till the fifteenth century. In 1377, according to the Poll-Tax returns, Beverley stood eleventh in point of population, although even then it had begun to decay. Its population at the present time is about 14,500.

The date of the original foundation of Beverley Minster is lost in the obscurity of remote antiquity. Simon Russell, clerk to the Provost of Beverley, who, in 1410, compiled the celebrated *Provost's Book* (lately restored to the Minster, and preserved among its treasures), declares that "Beverley Minster was built in the days of Lucius, son of Coil, King of Britain, in the year of Our Lord, 157." For Simon Russell was a man who scorned to "spoil his ship for a ha'porth of tar." But I see no reason for doubting the assertion of the Venerable Bede (who was ordained deacon and priest by St. John of Beverley, and wrote his biography), that the church on this spot was rebuilt by that saint, the fourth Archbishop of York of the Saxon line, who first visited Beverley about A.D. 690. Mr. A. F. Leach, to whose learning and research we are so deeply indebted for a flood of light upon the early annals of Beverley, disputes this, however, and devotes much pains and ingenuity to the attempt to prove that King Athelstan was the real founder of the Minster, and that there is no reason for identifying Bede's "Inderawuda" (In the wood of Deira) with Beverley (the "Beaver Meadow"). Surely the most likely explanation of the two names is that, first of all, the Church of St. John was built on a hill "In Deira Wood"; for recent excavations have shown that

Beverley Minster, N.W.

the approach through Highgate has been raised many feet, although there is still a flight of steps to the west door. Then a town sprang up in the "Beaver Meadow" below, and the Church of St. Nicholas was built there. In the northern edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is recorded: "A.D. 721. . . . This year died the holy Bishop John. . . . His body rests in Beverley (Beoforlic)."

The real difficulty to be encountered in doubting the identity of Beverley Minster with Bede's church "In Deira Wood" is this. St. John of Beverley died in 721. Athelstan was crowned in 925. Is it possible that, in 200 years, the great archbishop and the abbey which he founded, and in which he was buried, should have become so utterly forgotten that no one knew where the abbey was? In this, as well as in certain higher matters, the difficulties of unbelief are surely greater than the difficulties of faith!

In many an ancient chronicle we read of the learning, the holiness, the missionary labours, the miracles of the sainted archbishop, whose dust still lies in the Minster's eastern nave, marked by no other monument than the Gothic inscription in the vault above: "Beverlacêsis Beati Johanîs subtus in theca ponuntur ossa."[1] St. John of Beverley is said to have been born of a noble Saxon family at Harpham-on-the-Wolds, some eighteen miles from Beverley, about A.D. 640. His parents had doubtless embraced the faith of Christ, for they sent the boy to the far-famed school of Canterbury, presided over by Hadrian, the friend and fellow-labourer of Archbishop Theodore, who was a native (like that earlier and greatest missionary, St. Paul) of Tarsus in Cilicia. Hadrian the African, the fellow-countryman of Tertullian and Cyprian and St. Augustine of Hippo, has been described as the

[1] "In a coffer beneath are laid the bones of the Blessed John of Beverley." Round the western boss of the nave vault was discovered, in 1867, another inscription, which has also been restored: "Beverlacensis Johannes Sanctus Nobilisimæ hujus Ecclesiæ Fundator ("St. John of Beverley, Founder of this most noble Church").

parent of sanctified learning in the English Church. "He regarded all knowledge as God's gift to man, and strove to open the doors of all its chambers to his scholars. Not only the Sacred Scriptures and theology, but arithmetic, astronomy, music, and even medicine, were presented to the lads who flowed to Canterbury from all parts of England, as worthy subjects of intellectual labour. Bede, with his multifarious learning, so wide, and, for the time, so accurate, shows at their best the results of this wise, sympathetic teaching, derived, through his master, John, from these two great leaders of the Church in our land."[1] From Canterbury the future archbishop passed to the famous Monastery of Whitby, to be trained by the great Abbess Hilda, truly a "Mother in Israel." No fewer than five of her scholars, Bede informs us, of whom John was the most celebrated, but "all of them persons of signal worth and holiness," became bishops of various sees. On Sunday, August 25, 687, John was consecrated Bishop of Hexham. In 706 he was translated to York. Of the details of his episcopate Bede tells us little. He travelled through his diocese, preaching from his open Bible (parts of which he translated), rich in goodness, full of kindness and sympathy for the band of disciples by whom he was surrounded, and whom he was training for evangelistic work. Of these, Bede became the most famous; while Berctun (or Brithunus) and Winwald[2]

[1] See an interesting paper by the late Canon Venables, "St. John of Beverley, his Miracles, and his Minster."

[2] Gent and other writers (as Poulson, *Beverlac*, p. 31) speak of *St.* Brithunus and *St.* Winwald. I am unable to find any evidence of their canonisation, except that there is an interesting entry in the *Chapter Act Book*, dated November 28, 1306, giving the copy of a document which had been discovered in the shrine of St. Berchthun (Sancti Berethuni), stating that the relics had been wrapped in linen, with herbs fragrant of the sweetest odour, by Odo, priest, and Alfgar, deacon. Canon William of Haxby rebuilt the shrine at his own expense. There was a chapel under the invocation of St. "Winworth" (who was probably the same person as St. Winwald), somewhere in Cleveland, and presumably in the parish of Skelton. It was desecrated at the Reformation, and was granted, with other like spoil (*Pat. Roll.*, 28 Eliz., Part xiv., No. 3) to John Awbrey and John Ratclife, gentlemen, of London (see *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 352).

became the first two Abbots of Beverley, and Herebald, Abbot of Tynemouth. We are told minutely of the manner in which St. John taught a dumb youth to speak, from which circumstance, the "Guild of St. John of Beverley," for the benefit of the deaf and dumb, has chosen him for its patron, and has presented his statue, and a beautiful memorial window, to the Minster where he rests. Here, in A.D. 718, when, worn out by age, he resigned his bishopric, the saint retired to end his days, watched over by the faithful Brithunus, and dying on May 7, 721, was buried in St. Peter's Chapel.[1] In 1037, he received canonisation from Benedict IX., and Archbishop Aelfric "translated" his remains from the carved feretory of wood in which they had rested to a more sumptuous shrine, sparkling with gold and precious stones. This probably came to grief in the great fire of 1188, five years after which search was made for his bones, and they were discovered. Another magnificent feretory of silver gilt, adorned with tabernacle work, niches, and small images, was procured by the provost and canons early in the thirteenth century, and Mr. Leach has discovered the original contract between the Chapter of Beverley and Roger of Faringdon, goldsmith. It is dated September 14, 1292, and the surety was Roger's employer (and probably father or uncle, notwithstanding the variation in the spelling), William Farendon, goldsmith, citizen of London. He was the alderman who gave his name to the city ward of Farringdon.

It seems to have been completed for the dedication of the high altar on June 21, 1308. Like the shrine of St. Alban in that abbey, it probably rested in the chapel behind the high altar, and during the Rogation days it was carried in procession through the town to the daughter churches, when all the Trades Guilds built wooden castles in the streets, and having seen it pass sitting in their best

[1] The word "porticus" in the *Chronicle* probably means the canopy or baldacchino of the altar.

liveries in the morning, on its return in the afternoon joined in the procession, and rode after it.[1]

The relics were probably hidden at the dissolution, but in 1604, on digging a grave, they were found in a case of lead; and again brought to light on the repaving of the nave in 1736.

With the remains was found a small dagger, probably the pledge left by Athelstan on the altar when he visited the Minster in 933 to invoke the assistance of St. John, before the battle of Brunanburgh. After this victory, which made Athelstan practically the first King of England, he endowed the Minster with wide lands, and altered the foundation to a college of secular canons. The event is commemorated by an old painting in the south transept, representing the king in the act of giving to Beverley Minster (personified by St. John) its first charter, on which are the words in old English characters:—

"Als fre make I the
As hert may thenk
Or eyhe may se."

William the Conqueror turned aside from the lands of the Minster when he devastated the wolds and valleys of Yorkshire, and broke up his camp and removed it far away lest he should disturb "the peace of St. John." Edward I. more than once laid his offerings on the tomb of St. John, and carried his banner with him on his Scottish campaign. Henry IV. worshipped here, and confirmed the charters of Beverley, and the sanctuary of its "frith-stool." Here came Henry V. with his young French queen, to return thanks at the saint's shrine after the great victory of Agincourt, won on October 25th, which was not only the feast of St. Crispin, but that of the Translation of St. John; and Archbishop Chichele decreed that the day of his death, May 7th, should be solemnly observed all over England.

[1] *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, edited for the Surtees Society by Mr. A. F. Leach, vol. ii. xxxi.

Many and diverse are the miracles related by St. John's biographers to have been wrought by the saint both before and after his death. The blind, the lame, the diseased are cured; Scotland and Ireland, as well as England, send their afflicted, and they find relief; a youth who had climbed to the upper parts of the church to see the miracle-play of the Resurrection acted in the churchyard falls and is killed, but the saint restores him to life, so that, as the chronicler quaintly adds, "there is a resurrection inside the church as well as out"; a love-lorn pedagogue is cured of his passion; sailors pray to St. John at sea, and the storm subsides; he gives rain in drought, and is hailed as a new Elijah; the bells are rung as for the midnight mass, but by no mortal hand, and a festal procession of many clergy, priests, and bishops sweeps round the church thrice, and there enters a queen wearing a crown: "Who could this queen be," the narrator asks, "but the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, who is truly called the Queen of Heaven?" And so the fame and the sanctity of the Minster of St. John were noised abroad, and its coffers were replenished, and pilgrims came thither, as Chaucer tells, from far and near.

There is an interpolation in the Life of St. John of Beverley in the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which a similar legend is related of him to the well-known one concerning St. Gregory the Great. "Among the disciples of Archbishop Theodore," writes the chronicler, "he received one of great sanctity, named John, whom we have seen was afterwards ordained archbishop of the metropolitical Church of St. Peter at York, whom the Lord Jesus Christ so greatly loved that He sent to him the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, while he was celebrating the divine rites." Folcard, a monk of St. Bertin, in Flanders, who came to Canterbury in the time of Edward the Confessor, and became Abbot of Thorney, says that this happened in the Church of St. Michael the Archangel in York (doubtless St. Michael-le-Belfrey), while he was engaged in lonely

vigil and prayer in behalf of his work. The glory of the Holy Spirit, flashing with bright splendour, appeared in the form of a white dove hovering over his head as he prayed. The light shone forth from the basilica as if the sun had left the heavens and shut up his glory within its narrow bounds. All who beheld it were amazed. The archbishop's deacon, Sigga, entered the church, and beheld the wondrous sight: the holy pontiff with uplifted hands and eyes raised to heaven, pouring forth his soul like water before God, while upon his head there rested a dove, whiter than snow. The deacon's face became, as it were, scorched and wrinkled up by the light; the saint healed him with a touch, and bade him never to disclose what he had seen to any mortal, as long as he himself lived.

There is little to be said about the history of the town of Beverley apart from its ecclesiastical associations. In 1130 Archbishop Thurstan granted to the town the privilege of a Hans House and a Merchant Guild. According to Gross's list there were only five towns in England which obtained this privilege earlier. Thurstan's charter contained the elements of the municipal constitution of the borough. Twelve men of the Guild were chosen yearly to represent their fellow-burgesses, and called the "Twelve Governors" or "Keepers" of the town of Beverley. Merchant Guilds were founded originally for the regulation and protection of trade, but in process of time the government of the towns in which they existed became their chief function. Two orders of the Keepers, dated 1306, are preserved in the Town Records. Beverley returned two burgesses to the Parliaments of Edward I. When King Henry VI. visited Beverley in 1447, the twelve Governors and a large number of burgesses rode out to meet him, and the terse speech of the principal Governor (Mayor as he would afterwards have been called), Roger Rolleston, was as follows: "Most graciouse cristen Prince, our Soveraynge Lord, ye be wollcom til your pepul and town of Beverley." A present of £85 was on this occasion given to the king.

Queen Elizabeth granted to the town a charter of incorporation, at the request of the Earl of Leicester, in 1572. It cost the municipality no less a sum than £223, 1s. 10d., and ordained that the Mayor and the twelve Governors should hold their offices for life, and that the survivors should elect their successors. In 1663, by a charter of Charles II., thirteen capital burgesses were added to the Corporation; and the last charter, that of James II., granted in 1685, altered the title of the twelve Governors to that of Aldermen.

The town does not appear to have been fortified by walls, but by a moat and palisade. At every entrance there was an embattled gateway, one of which remains, the North Bar, built in 1409.

In 1708, James Douglas, Duke of Queensberry, was created by Queen Anne Duke of Dover, Marquis of Beverley, and Baron Ripon. The English titles became extinct in 1778, and the Earldom of Beverley is now merged in the Dukedom of Northumberland.

The Archbishops of York were Lords of the Manor of Beverley, and frequently resided at the Manor House in Beverley Park, afterwards the residence of the Wartons. A small portion only of this mansion remains, converted into a farmhouse, beneath which is the entrance to an underground passage, which can be traced outside for some distance. Archbishop Alfric Puttoc obtained for the people of Beverley, by his influence with Edward the Confessor, the privilege of holding three yearly fairs, which greatly promoted the prosperity of the town. In 1380, as it is usually supposed, Archbishop Alexander Neville granted to the burgesses the beautiful undulating park of Westwood, the largest of the common pastures of the town, which contain altogether about 1200 acres. It would, however, appear that the grant of Neville was only the confirmation of a similar grant from his predecessors.

King Edward I. visited Beverley, as we have seen, three times. In 1299 he remained three days as the

guest of the canons of the Minster, and the sacred banner of St. John was then commanded to be borne before him into Scotland. In 1300 he was accompanied by Queen Eleanor and his eldest son, afterwards Edward II., who visited Beverley several times after he became king. Many other royal visits are recorded during the Middle Ages, and in the midst of the great civil troubles in 1642, Charles I. transferred his Court from York to Beverley, residing at the house of Lady Gee, on the west side of North Bar Within. After his failure to gain possession of Hull, the king returned to Beverley, but was followed by the Parliamentary troops, who, making a circuit and crossing the dyke near the North Bar, beat down the sentinels and gained the centre of the town before the Royalists knew of the pursuit. Charles took refuge in the Hall Garth, on the south side of the Minster, and his troops gave battle to the rebels in the streets, and drove them back in haste to Hull.

Among the famous men of Beverley was St. Aelred, or Alured, born in 1109. Educated first in the Minster school, and afterwards at Cambridge, he returned to his native town, and became sacrist, canon, and treasurer of the church. He was subsequently appointed abbot of the newly founded Abbey of Rievaulx, whose beautiful ruins may still be seen near the little town of Helmsley. There he compiled his famous *Annals* of the English Kings from Brutus to Henry I. He has been called the English Florus, from the resemblance of his style to that of the Roman historian. In 1250 he was enrolled among the saints of the Cistercian Order.

John Fisher, born in Beverley in 1456, became chaplain to the Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII., and was joint founder with her of Christ's and St. John's Colleges in Cambridge, and of the Margaret Professorship of Divinity. In 1504 he was appointed Bishop of Rochester. For upholding the papal supremacy, Paul III. sent him a cardinal's hat in 1535, but he was beheaded by

Beverley Minster, the Nave.

Henry VIII. shortly afterwards. Three centuries later he was "Beatified."

But now we draw near to the venerable Minster of St. John, and perhaps, if we happen to be students of architecture, we begin to ask ourselves whether, on the whole, we have ever seen so beautiful a church. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the late eminent archæologist, Canon Venables, writing under the very shadow of his own beloved Lincoln, declared Beverley to be the "loveliest of English Minsters." "In the opinion of many excellent judges," wrote an able critic in the London *Guardian* (September 1884), "Beverley Minster is, taken all round, the very finest church the country possesses." Mr. Leach begins the introduction to his edition of the *Beverley Chapter Act Book* by saying: "There is no more beautiful building in England than Beverley Minster." . . . "Beverley, like the King's daughter, is all glorious within."[1]

If we go on to analyse this beauty into its component elements, the first feature which strikes us will probably be the admirable proportion of the structure; of height to width, of pillar to arch, of triforium to clerestory. You never find yourself saying, "This is too low, and wanting in sublimity; this is too high and suggestive of weakness and attenuation; this is too short and we yearn for a far-stretching vista." Similarly, the ground-plan, which is practically that of the Norman church (with the exception of the Lady Chapel, the eastern transept, and the western aisle of the great transept), forms the most perfect double cross of any known church. We shall next observe that in the restoration and Gothicising of the Norman church (which was "grievously disfigured" by

[1] The late Sir Gilbert Scott on one occasion, when standing in the choir with Mr. Alderman Elwell of Beverley, who was remarking upon its beauty, exclaimed enthusiastically, "This is the finest Gothic church in the world!" Mr. Francis Bond, in his *Gothic Architecture in England* (1905) ranks the nave of Beverley Minster among the four "most successful vaulted interiors we possess" (p. 54); while he describes its choir as "the masterpiece of thirteenth-century Gothic" (p. 535).

a great fire in 1188), a work which went on for about 200 years, each generation so assimilated its work to that of its predecessors, that the general effect is one of complete harmony coupled with the variety in detail displayed by some of the finest examples of all the pointed styles. The very "dogtooth" moulding of the thirteenth century was not wholly abandoned in the fourteenth, and the arch curve of the Perpendicular windows is as graceful as that of the lancets.

We shall then note the immense wealth of rich carving and sculpture which meets the eye everywhere. True, in the Early English portion, the only foliage is that of the simple "Herba Benedicta," the only semblance of the human form is the "Cistercian Mask." But on the east side of the early fourteenth-century altar-screen, and in the arcading under the windows of the aisles of the nave, as well as on the buttresses and pinnacles of the exterior (especially those on the south side) we have an efflorescence of "Decorated" work which it would not be easy to surpass. The same may be said of the screens, sedilia, and later stalls of the choir, remarkable examples of three periods of wood-work; while, in the crowning glory of the "Percy Shrine" (A.D. 1340), we can admire the finest of all Gothic monuments.

Two interior points of view should be especially commended to the visitor. Standing under the organ-screen, and looking west, we have before us the long vista of the noble nave, with its eleven lofty arches on either side—twelve, if we include those of the centre crossing. The great west window, with its rich glass, portraying scenes connected with the early history of Christianity in Northumbria, and the figures of abbots, provosts, canons, and other worthies of Beverley, forms a fine termination to the prospect. Underneath it is the lofty western portal, flanked by eighteen niches containing excellent statues of the "Black Letter Saints," by Messrs. Percy and Robert Baker and the late Mr. Robert Smith.

The other view is that which presents itself to one standing rather more than half-way up the choir (it should be on a sunny morning), and gazing upon the exquisite Early English architecture of the eastern crossing, the ancient glass of the great east window, the Decorated altar-screen and Percy Shrine, with the richly canopied stalls to the right and left.

One of the most venerable relics of the Minster is the rude "Frith-stool," or "Chair of Peace," described by Mr. Leach as the oldest seat remaining in its original home. It no doubt dates from the time of Athelstan, who conferred the right of sanctuary. The unique double Early English staircase which led to the Chapter House must not be forgotten, nor the noble Norman Transition font of Frosterley marble, nor the collection of relics in the oak case in the south-east transept, the most valuable of which is the *Provost's Book*, or *Register of Simon Russell*, already alluded to, an important MS. of A.D. 1416, in its original binding.

All the ancient glass remaining in the Minster was collected and arranged in the east window in the eighteenth century. There are thus sufficient specimens of all three styles to guide the artist when new windows are to be designed; for (contrary to the present fashion, which, it is to be hoped, will soon have run its course) nothing is allowed to be inserted in Beverley Minster, whether in painted glass, carving, or sculpture, which is not as nearly as possible on the lines of the original work. We may especially point to the reproduction of thirteenth-century glass in the choir by Messrs. Powell, and to that of fourteenth-century glass in the memorial window to the officers and men of the East Yorkshire Regiment who fell in the South African war, and the adjoining window in the south aisle of the nave, by Messrs. Hardman.

The organ retains the best parts of that erected by Snetzler in 1767, since which it has been frequently enlarged, mainly by Messrs. Hill; and it is now a very complete instrument, notable both for the power of the

full organ and for the sweetness and variety of the softer stops.[1] The fine organ-screen of richly carved oak was designed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott on the lines of the tabernacle work of the stalls, and most successfully carried out by Messrs. Elwell of Beverley. It is pleasant to add that its handsome gates of wrought iron were also the work of a townsman, Mr. Watson.

The front of the altar-screen was most carefully restored from the remains of the original work (it was dedicated in 1308) about seventy years ago. It contained a great deal of fine carved work in its niches and canopies, but these were all empty; and the first impression it gave was that of a white stone wall, hardly worthy of its position in the very focus of so much beauty. There seemed to be no doubt but that the statuary should be restored, and also that gold and colour were needed. But how were the latter to be supplied? The painting and gilding of carved stone-work, much less of statuary, never, in our judgment, seems really satisfactory, although it was so often done in mediæval times. Its own natural play of light and shade has a much more pleasing effect; the fumes of our modern stoves and gas-jets soon exert a ghastly influence, and, in the present case, the contrast presented by the virgin purity of the Percy Shrine would painfully accentuate the garishness of a painted and gilded altar-screen.[2] No solution of the problem could satisfy every taste, but the one which was adopted has been almost universally approved by those competent to judge. The twelve niches were filled with statues, executed in Corsham stone by Mr. N. Hitch of Vauxhall, under the careful superintendence of the late Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A. The thirty-six flat panels were filled with "opus sectile" mosaic

[1] There are 4 manuals, 68 stops, and 3576 pipes. The wind is supplied by three hydraulic engines.

[2] In these remarks the writer is simply giving his own opinion, formed after long and careful study of the subject generally and of the local conditions in this particular instance. He is quite aware of the wide differences of taste in these matters.

Beverley Minster, the Choir.

by Messrs. Powell; a vermilion and gold diaper copied from the original "gesso" illumination of the altar-screen was largely used as a background, and also to line the niches, in which it serves the double purpose of vividly throwing up the statues and also preserving the balance of colouring with white stone-work over the whole composition. The statuary in the adjoining and almost contemporary Percy Shrine was studied for the figures, and the colouring of the east window beyond for the mosaics, so that the work might "look right" amid its surroundings. The needed warmth and glow of gold and colour were thus obtained in a worthy and permanent material, proof against carbonic vapours, and confined to the flat panels of the reredos. The work was completed in 1897, in memory of the late Commander H. O. Nolloth, R.N., the father of the present vicar. The five windows in the south front of the eastern transept are a memorial to the vicar's mother.

Passing now to the exterior, the main objects which impress the eye are the roofs (which all retain their original very lofty pitch), the beautiful façades of the east end and of the transepts, the imposing north porch (which Rickman declared to be the finest specimen of a panelled Perpendicular porch in the kingdom), the flying buttresses of the nave, with their richly carved Decorated niches and pinnacles, and, above all, the magnificent western front and towers. Every visitor should make a point of going a few yards down Minster Moorgate, which is a continuation of Minster Yard North, for there, close to the entry to the Minster stoneyard, is the only spot from which the towers can be properly seen. Stand there when the moonlight, or the rosy afterglow of a summer evening, or the pearly haze of a fine winter afternoon, illumines those towers, with their buttresses of massive strength, yet so exquisitely proportioned in their receding stages as to lead you to imagine that they soar to a far greater than their actual height, panelled, traceried, and fretted from base to pinnacle and adorned with some ninety statues. And, as you gaze,

you will feel that you have before you the very beau-ideal of Gothic art in its blended grace and strength, and romance of carving and of sculpture. I know that nothing in the world can approach the magnitude and richness of the west fronts of Rheims and Amiens; but in perfection of outline and pure Gothic feeling, nothing can excel the west front of Beverley. Its setting has lately been greatly improved by the closing of the public footpaths through the Minster yard, and the lowering of the high brick wall which encompassed it, so that the grey buttresses are now seen rising from a fair greensward, well planted with evergreens, rose-trees, and flowering shrubs, dotted here and there with limes and silver birches.[1]

The restoration of the sculpture in the west front and north porch was undertaken as a memorial of the sixtieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria. Only one ancient figure remained, that of Henry Percy, on the north face of the north tower, and there was a hard and unsatisfying look in the scores of richly canopied but empty niches. The project was well taken up, and besides the donations of residents, statues were given by the Archbishop of York, the Archdeacon of the East Riding, the Guild of St. John of Beverley, the Historical Society of Beverley (Massachusetts), &c.; while, among local donors, may be mentioned the Freemasons of Beverley, the women of Beverley, and the vicar's Men's Bible Class. The committee were

[1] The tympanum, or lofty embattled chamber over the great west window, has sometimes been absurdly reviled on the ground that it is a sort of false front to the nave roof. It would be just as reasonable to object to the lateral towers that they form false fronts to the side aisles. The fact is that here, as at Strasburg, Notre-Dame, and other continental churches, the whole west front, or western bay of the nave, is one great tower right across. At Strasburg some heavy bells are hung in the tympanum or central portion; and a few years since we had some idea of doing the same thing at Beverley. Apart from this, the effect would have been most inharmonious, if the Perpendicular builders had allowed the steep-pitched roof of the earlier nave to appear between the towers. The low gable of the central portion of this threefold western tower, with its battlement and pinnacles, is the best possible upper termination which could have been devised for it, and far more satisfactory than the flat horizontal finish of the corresponding portion of the west fronts of Strasburg and Notre-Dame.

fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Robert Smith, a sculptor of great experience under several of our most eminent architects; and in the opinion of good judges, the figures have the impress of true Gothic feeling, and will compare favourably with any similar work. Some critics have been severe upon certain figures in the lowest tier, without taking into account the peculiar difficulty which had to be met—viz., that the lowest niches were not only wider and deeper, but unfortunately much shorter than the upper tiers. In the figures near the base of the north tower (west face), however, the difficulty has been cleverly surmounted. Kings and queens who have had to do with Beverley and the Church in Northumbria fill the uppermost row of niches, about 100 feet from the ground, and the statues are about 6 feet 6 inches high. In the next row appear bishops and archbishops; then abbots and abbesses, warriors and saints, &c. In the centre of the battlement of the north porch is a large niche, in which has been placed, what it was evidently designed for, a seated figure of our Lord, with crown, orb, and sceptre; above, in the spire or pinnacle, are two niches, containing, in the lower one, St. John the Baptist, and in the small upper one, a heavenly herald, an angel bearing a trumpet. On either side of our Lord are His twelve apostles, St. Paul being substituted for St. John the Divine, who appears among the four large statues on either side of the portal below, the patron saints of the four parishes of Beverley, the others being St. Martin of Tours, St. Nicholas of Myra, and St. Mary the Virgin.

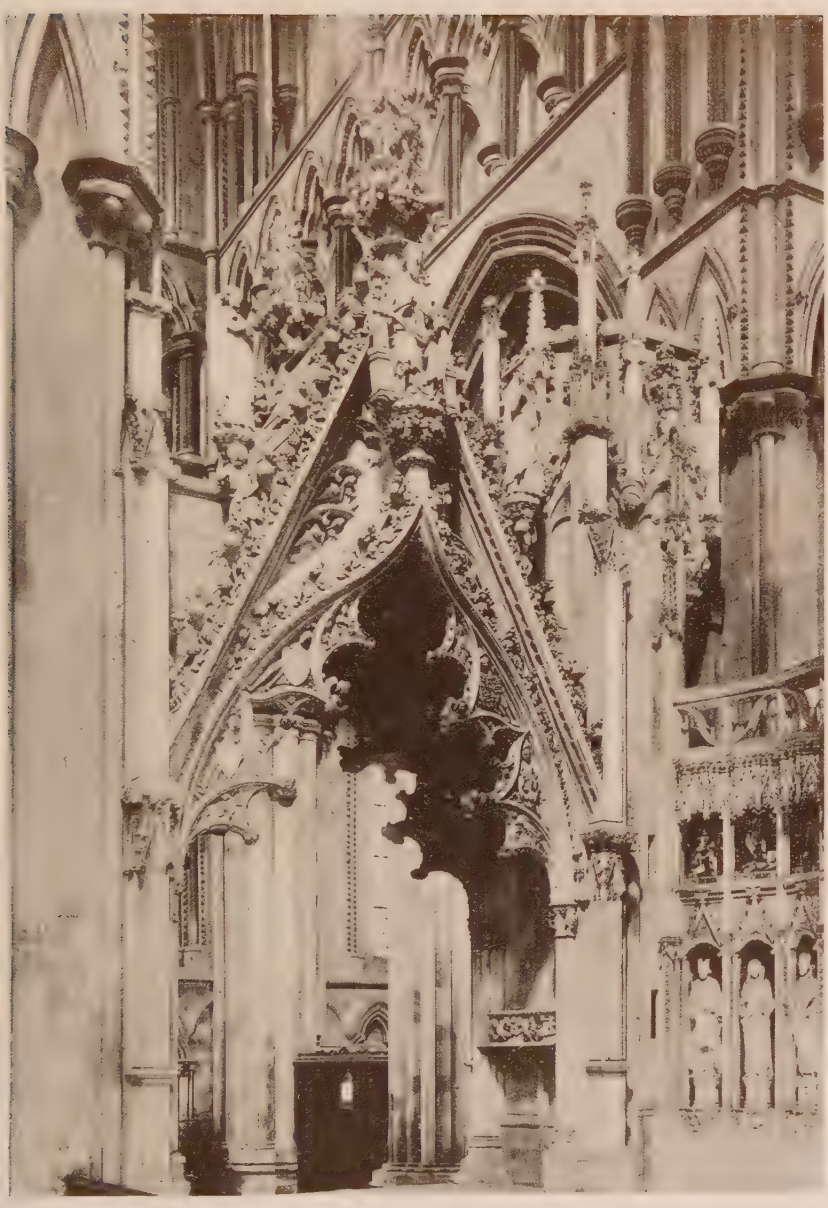
Over the west portal is a niche with an exceedingly beautiful canopy and gable, flanked by pinnacles, soaring up in front of the great west window. In this niche stands the patron saint. The other thirty niches round the west portal are now in course of being filled. The uppermost row of twelve are to display the twelve patriarchs, while prophets, priests, and types of our Lord, below, are to unite in conveying the idea of the Old

Testament as introductory to the New, the Law preparing the way for the Gospel, the Jewish Temple as the portal of the Christian Church—after the manner of the "Bible of Amiens."

There are 108 statues on the exterior of the Minster, 3 of which are ancient; and 74 in the interior, of which 30 are ancient: total, 182.

If the clock happens to chime, or if the bells are ringing while the visitor stands below, he can hardly fail to be struck by their full, deep, musical tones, and it may interest him to know that the ring of ten in the north tower, and the "Bourdon," "Great John," in the south tower, are the heaviest set of bells that have been made, since, about fourteen years ago, Messrs. Taylor of Loughborough, with the aid of the late Canon Simpson, rediscovered and elaborated the lost art of the great Belgian founders of three centuries ago, by which each bell is made to give out a true chord, its three octaves, minor third and fifth all being in tune with each other. In the north tower may also be seen the two ancient bells, "Peter" (now used as the prayer-bell), and "Brithunus," cast by Johannes de Stafford about the year 1350; and the inscription-rings of two other bells in the former peal. The clock is a very powerful one, by Messrs. Smith of Derby, and is, we believe, the only clock in the world which strikes upon bells in two towers; the going train and the chiming train (by which the quarters are announced in varying strains upon the peal of ten bells) are in the north tower, while the striking train is in the south tower, underneath the great bell, on which it strikes the hour. This bell is in exact tune with the peal, and is the largest and deepest-toned hour-bell in any church or cathedral in the country.[1]

[1] The campanologist may like to know that the peal is in *C*, the tenor weighing 2 tons 1½ cwt. "Great John" gives the deep *G*, the octave below the sixth bell in the peal, and weighs 7 tons 3 qrs. 1 lb. Its diameter is 7 ft. 2¾ ins.; thickness at the sound-bow, 6½ ins. It is so hung that it can be rung for the last five minutes, on the ceasing of the peal before the Sunday services, without causing the slightest vibration in the tower. These bells are considered by experts to be the finest in the country.



Beverley Minster, the Percy Shrine.

On the south side of the south tower may be seen the remains of St. Martin's parish church, and of the charnel-house below, in which there was an altar of Corpus Christi. From this point there is a good view of the exquisite Decorated flying buttresses before alluded to, with their beautiful niches and crocketted pinnacles. These have been lately restored by Mr. John Baker, a stone-carver of remarkable skill and the right mediæval perception. On the south tower is a venerable sundial, with the legend "Now or When?" It is said that the late Canon Jackson of Leeds, when a careless youth, once lay resting on the grass in the Minster churchyard on a summer day, when his eye caught the inscription on the old dial, and he was led into a train of thought which changed the whole current of his life, and he became one of the most useful and revered clergy in the north of England.

Among the poems in the late Canon Wilton's *Lyra Pastoralis* is the following:—

NOW OR WHEN?

(Being the Legend of a Sundial on Beverley Minster.)

"On the tall buttress of a Minster grey,
The glorious work of long-forgotten men,
I read this Dial-legend—"Now or When?"
Well had these builders used their little day
Of service—witness this sublime display
Of blossomed stone, dazzling the gazer's ken.
These towers attest they knew 'twas there and then,
Not some vague morrow they must work and pray.

Oh, let us seize this transitory NOW
From which to build a life-work that will last:
In humble prayer and worship let us bow
Ere fleeting opportunity is past.
When once Life's sun forsakes the Dial-plate,
For work and for repentance 'tis too late!"

In 1547, when the College of St. John was dissolved, its members consisted of—

1 Provost.
9 Canons or Prebendaries, including the Archbishop as Prebendary of St. Leonard's altar.
3 Officers: the Precentor, the Sacrist, and the Chancellor.
7 Parsons or Rectors.
9 Vicars-Choral of the 9 Canons.
15 Chantry Priests.
1 Master of the Works.
1 Chamberlain.
17 Clerks of the Second Form.
4 Sacristans or Sextons.
2 Incense Bearers.
8 Choristers.

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More than one of these offices, however, was held by the same person, so that the actual number was probably about that of the stalls in the choir—68. These stalls, by the way, all preserve their misericords, forming the largest set in the country, Lincoln Minster ranking next with 64. They contain many carvings of great interest.

The Provost ruled over the temporal possessions of the church, exercised the patronage of the livings, and appointed the seven rectors and other officers of the Minster. In his court he judged both ecclesiastical and civil offences, and had the power of inflicting capital punishment. The nine prebendaries were not called after the places whence their prebends were derived, but after the altars which they served, and each of them had a parish, served as usual by their vicars.

And now we leave the quiet precinct, deemed of yore so holy that the fiercest bulls approaching it were said forthwith to become mild and tractable. The deep echoes of the Minster bells die away upon the ear, and the quaint, red-tiled roofs of old Beverley grow dim upon the horizon. But still, now and again, we turn from afar to look upon the grey, fretted towers which long dominate the plain; and we muse upon the simple times when their very sight, joined with ardent prayer, was held to bring healing to the sick. And then our thoughts revert to the

busy, toiling present, when men run to and fro and knowledge is increased—but not always wisdom; and we feel how there still remains, insistent as ever, the old, deep need of the calm and stay of the Great Presence brooding over all — the Presence symbolised by that ancient Temple of Him who said, near two thousand years ago, "Come unto Me, all ye who labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest!"

YORKSHIRE FOLK-LORE

By Miss M. W. E. Fowler

A CHANCE visitor to Yorkshire might imagine that such a wide-awake, business-like people, so alive to every opportunity, and so knowing in their various transactions, had forgotten the old superstitions of their country, and grown beyond a belief in the witches and ghosts who once terrified their ancestors. This is not the case. Inborn, deep-seated, underlying all outward appearances, many old traditions and beliefs remain, while ancient divinations are practised. The following folk-lore was collected some years ago, mainly in the manufacturing districts and colliery villages of the West Riding.

Leechcraft

Throughout the county, the uneducated classes appear proud of a bad or unusual illness, no detail being too horrible, no impossibility too impossible. Their credulity will go to any length, one woman near Dewsbury being convinced that a relation had had his blind eye removed in hospital, and that of a buck rabbit substituted, with the most satisfactory results.

Indigestion.—Internal pains are frequently said to be caused by some animal which "hez gotten hinside of a man." In many cases it is known how this unfortunate state of things came about, and the unwelcome presence can be readily accounted for by the patient and his friends. A lad, when drinking from a pond, swallowed an "askard" (newt). The boy saw "its greät eyes" just as it went in

at his mouth, but before he could raise his head, the newt had slipped down his throat. For years afterwards he was troubled with symptoms resembling those of acute dyspepsia, till at last an old woman told him of a cure. He was to sit with his mouth wide open in front of a basin of hot bread and milk, the smell of which would tempt the askard out of his "in'ards." The cure was tried, and proved most successful. The askard simply rushed up his throat into the basin, after which the youth ceased to be troubled and lost all his former pains and discomfort. Another man had "an askard or summat arkard" inside him, which was tempted out by hot beefsteak. At once it began to run round the table. Unfortunately the many onlookers tried to catch it, whereon it jumped down the man's throat again. A woman gave the following story to account for her attacks of spasms: "It be a fummard (weasel) as troubles me. It got into me when I were a gal, and t'way it gnaws at me hinside is hawful. There be nowt as 'ill kill it, an' its growed so sin' it went darn 'at no amount o' nothink can bring it up now!" She also believed her father's deafness was caused by an animal in his head, and used to tell of how, "one fall," he was lying asleep by the pond, during which time an askard must have crept in at his ear. "'E's been deaf ivver sin', and will be till 'e can get shut on it."

Cripples, and people suffering from what is known as "spine i' the back," are victims of worms, which have crawled into them when they were babies. These worms, which cannot be expelled, gradually devour the backbone.

Consumption results from these same worms settling in the lungs. There are, however, good worms, which all healthy people contain in their stomachs, and without which they could digest nothing.

Colic.—Cinder tea is the best cure for this. Pour some boiling water over a piece of red-hot cinder and drink as soon as made.

Infantile Illness.—If an unchristened child be ill, there

is nothing will cure it more quickly than baptism. A lady's baby was suddenly taken ill one evening when its mother was from home. The nurse at once made some cinder tea. With this she baptized the child, making it drink the remainder, and so resorting to a double cure. On the mother's return, she reported the illness, adding: "But I kersened him myself, an' he peeked up at once, bless him!"

Infant's Fretfulness.—If a newborn baby is unnaturally fretful, it is a sign the child needs something its mother longed for before its birth. Under this impression, chopped-up fried pig's liver was forced down the throat of a month-old child. The results were most direful.

Asthma, or "Risin' of the Lights."—This is caused by the lights (lungs) rising into the throat, and so stopping up the windpipe. The cure is to swallow leaden bullets, the weight of which will keep down the lungs. "Our John's at hoäm wi' risin' o' the lights. 'E's swallowed a sight o' bullets, but fund nowt to keep 'em darn."

Warts should be rubbed with milk from the stalks of "wartwort" (*Euphorbia helioscopia*), or, better still, with "fastin' spittle." "Fastin' spittle" is saliva used before breakfast. Another remedy is to *steal* a piece of lean meat, before noon, rub the wart with it, then bury it in the nearest garden. As the flesh rots, the wart withers away; but this cure is useless unless done in secret. Warts are caused by having the hands too much in potato water.

Weakness.—It is very generally believed that clean linen is a weakening thing, the idea being that it draws the dirt out of the skin in much the same way and with much the same effect as a leech draws blood. (Dr. F. to Mrs. B.) "Now that you are so much better, Mrs. B., it would not hurt you to change your linen; you would find it very refreshing and comfortable." (Mrs B.) "But, doctor! wouldn't such a weak'ning thing be very bad for me just now?"

Hooping Cough.—Tie a string to the hind leg of a little

frog, and let the child suck it, taking the greatest care the frog does not slip down the throat; or, tie a dried toad up in a bag, and hang it round the child's neck, so as to be next the skin.

Sayings.—The first finger contains poison, therefore no ointment should be put on with it. For such purposes, the third finger is the best to use, as it is harmless, and in addition a lucky finger.

The birds—especially Dicky Dunkin, the hedge-sparrow—will pick your eyes out if you gather "bod-eye" (*Veronica chamædrys*), for this is their flower, and it makes them angry to see it touched.

CEREMONIAL, &c.

Birth and Infancy.—It is an unfortunate thing for a lioness to die in the British Isles. When this happens, many women will die in their confinements during the same year. If, on the other hand, a lioness have cubs the majority of which are "shes," then the majority of babies born that year will be girls. Shortly before the birth of a child, the mother should make a "spice-loaf," otherwise the baby may not thrive. Slices of this cake are given to visitors after the child is born. During her confinement the woman should have a piece of red string, ribbon, or lawyer's tape tied round her left thigh. Why, is a little uncertain, though some say it will shorten her illness. Should the child be born with a caul, so much the better. It is a most lucky sign, though indicating the infant will become a wanderer. The caul should be dried and kept, as it will ensure its owner against death by drowning. Until after she has been churched, no newly made mother should enter a neighbour's house. If she be guilty of such injudiciousness, a baby will be born in the said house before a year passes. This will come true, even if the circumstance be most unlikely. An infant should "be taken up before it is taken down." If

born in a top room, so as to make it impossible to carry it higher, then it must be held overhead by some one who is standing on a chair or table. A child born with teeth will die before it is a year old, so likewise will one who cuts the lower incisors first:—

> "Quickly toothed, then quickly go,
> Quickly will your mother have moo."

If it lives—which is most unlikely—it will be different from other children. At the first house into which a baby is taken, the mistress must give it its blessing. The blessing is as follows:—

1. An egg, that it may never want meat.
2. Salt, (*a*) to savour that meat; (*b*) that it may never need friends.
3. Bread, that it may never want food.
4. A match, to light it through the world.
5. A coin, that it may never want money.

Infants should cry during the baptismal service, some people deliberately making them do so, in order that they "may scream the devil out." After the ceremony, the nurse must be supplied with "a drop o' summat" with which to drink its health. This custom is called "washing the baby's head." The real washing of that part of its small person should not be attempted before the child is a year old, and then with whisky and water for the first time. Its nails should never be cut, but be bitten short instead. Should a child say "mamma" first, there will soon be another; if "dada," there will be no other, or, at any rate, none before a long interval. I should here add that the first of these superstitions, referring to the lioness, though doubtless comparatively modern Yorkshire folk-lore, is now prevalent throughout the West Riding. The same remark applies to the fourth blessing of an infant, matches probably being a late addition, or now taking the place of some older gift used before their introduction.

Courtship and Marriage.—When it is known that a man and woman are engaged to be married, the men of

the village take the earliest opportunity of meeting the happy pair out together. They then ask the future husband to give them "a footing," and receiving a small coin, repair to the nearest inn in order to drink the bride's health. This custom of "buying their footing" may only be done once, and then by the first male friend or friends who meet the couple. It is unlucky to marry and not change the surname, for "To change the name and not the letter, is a change for worse and not for better." When the wedding day comes, care must be taken that the bride does not see the bridegroom before she enters the church. Though not of necessity seen, still she must wear something blue, and must remember that green is a colour to avoid. It is always unlucky to turn back when leaving home, but never more so than on the wedding day. If a return is inevitable, the misfortune can be minimised by sitting down on the first seat seen. The men of the wedding party sometimes leave the church early, in order to reach the girl's home before her return. This is known as "running for the bride-door," and the man who reaches it the first must be presented with a flower from the bouquet, or some other thing which the bride has had with her during the service. In the rougher parts, there is a race among the men, it being understood that the winner may claim and himself remove the bride's garter for a prize. On her return from church she must hide her gloves, in order that, after her departure, the bridesmaids may hunt for them, she who finds them being looked upon as the next to marry. The cake should be cut over the bride's head, "for luck," after which she must give her special friends crumbs "to dream on." These morsels are first passed through her wedding ring, care being taken that the ring does not come off during the process. It is admissible to drop it to the tip of the finger, holding it there with the thumb while manipulating the cake with the other hand. Each receiver makes her portion into a small parcel and hides it away till night. She must

walk upstairs backwards to bed, place the cake under her pillow, tie her garters round the left bedpost, and get into bed backwards. All this without speaking. Whoever is dreamt of will be the future husband. On waking (if it be after midnight), she must sit up and eat the cake, at the same time wishing three wishes, which, if kept secret, will come true during the year. In some parts, it used to be considered the proper thing to make the bridegroom leave the house during the night following the wedding. This was tried by stratagem, but was seldom successful. A newly married shepherd in the Ilkley neighbourhood was awakened by a man throwing gravel against the window, in order to warn him of some misfortune threatening his sheep. The man begged him to go at once and do what was necessary for the safety of his flock; but the shepherd laughingly returned to bed, nor would any call or entreaty induce him to again go to the window. In the morning he found to his horror the alarm was a true one, and that several of his sheep were killed.

There are many sayings connected with marriage and courtship, such as:—

"Courtin' 'ill cease when t' goärse is oot o' flower."

If a girl sits on the table it is a sign she wants a husband.

To fall upstairs is the sign of a wedding.

Death and Burial.—A strange pigeon entering a house is a sign of death, and in some families one of those birds is always said to appear at such times. This idea is by no means confined to the West Riding, but is here given, as the following story relating to it is too good a local example to omit: A lady would not believe the doctor when he reported the sinking condition of her husband, for no pigeon had as yet come to warn her. She had caught one in her room before the death of her father, and her sister had been visited by another before the sudden and unexpected death of a daughter, and until one appeared she should not consider her husband a

hopeless case. As soon as the doctor called on the following day, she greeted him with the words, "I can believe you now, for a pigeon came into his dressing-room early this morning."

After a funeral, the more heavy the feast, the more honour done to the dead. Ham is a great feature on these occasions, "to be buried wi' 'am" being very correct. The funeral cake is eaten just before the party start for the church, the more substantial meal taking place on their return.

A curious custom used to be observed in a colliery village near Wakefield. On the morning of the funeral, the coffin was placed on chairs outside the house door, there to await the coming of the hearse. These chairs might not be touched till the funeral party returned. When starting for the church, the *empty* cart or hearse headed the procession, then came the carriages, followed by the walking mourners, the coffin being carried behind. This arrangement was adopted because "all bodies must be carried to Grime Lane end"; the said Grime Lane being a road near the entrance of the village, and the most direct route. Here they stopped, the coffin was put into the hearse, the mourners entered the carriages, and so they continued their way to church. The road taken was always the same—down Grime Lane, across a stretch of common land, and then along the Corpse Road, the latter perhaps deriving its name from this custom.

Herbs, especially rosemary, are sometimes thrown into the grave; and the position of the furniture in the sick-room is more or less altered during the absence of the funeral party. The herbs are said to "make the spirit rest," and the re-arranging of the room is, I believe, to deceive the ghost; for should it return and notice the change, it will not so readily recognise its old home, and may go away again without troubling the family.

CUSTOMS PECULIAR TO CERTAIN SEASONS

New Year's Day.—It is most unlucky for a fair man, or a woman, to let in the New Year. If there be no dark man living in the house, a neighbour is requested to come, early on the morning of New Year's Day, or as soon as twelve has struck on the night of New Year's Eve. In the latter case the family sit up to await the coming of the first foot. No door or window is opened until he knocks. He should bring something new into the house, and in return receive drink and Christmas cake.

Twelfth Night.—The boys of some villages dress up, call themselves morris dancers, and go about from house to house "mumming." Set pieces, I believe, are still acted in the neighbourhood of Leeds and elsewhere, but as far as I am able to gather this custom is dying out, and already in many parts the proper words have been forgotten. In some cases the only reminiscence consists in the carrying round, by lads, of an old plough or scythe, one of the boys being now supposed to personate Father Time.

Candlemas Day.—Some portion of the Christmas cheer is kept to finish on Candlemas Day. Christmas decorations should be removed, *but on no account burnt*, it being considered most unlucky to destroy evergreens by fire during the winter.

Collop Monday or Shuttle Feather Day.—The Monday before Ash Wednesday takes its first name from the fried ham and eggs, known as "collops," which are then eaten in the place of other meat. The second name is given because the season of battledoor and shuttlecock begins on this day. The children play in the streets, taking turns, and repeating the answers to the questions given below—one clause or word to each stroke of the bat:

(When shall I marry?)
"This year, next year, long time, never."
(Whom shall I marry?)
"Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, rich man, poor man, beggar-man, thief."

(In what material shall I be married?)
"Silk, satin, cotton, rags."

(In what shall I drive to church?)
"Coach, carriage, wheel-barrow, donkey-cart."

Pancake Day.—Shrove Tuesday is so named on account of the pancakes then eaten for dinner. The custom of turning or tossing the pancakes is fast dying out, though still kept up in some houses.

Ash Wednesday.—On Ash Wednesday the boys begin to play marble games, and salt fish is eaten in place of meat.

Lent is the season to indulge in "Symnell cakes," and on "Carling Sunday" (the fifth) dried peas are fried and partaken of. On Palm Sunday the male blossoms of the Sallow are worn, and brought into the houses.

Good Friday is a general holiday. At Wakefield, the men from the neighbouring villages collect, or did collect, on Heath Common, and hold rough and noisy revellings, "knur and spell" matches being a great feature. Hot-cross buns are on every breakfast table, and the first potatoes of the year are set in the cottage gardens. Parsley seed must also be planted, but by a member of the family, for should a stranger sow it, great trouble will come to the house.

Easter Monday and Tuesday.—On this Monday, the girls endeavour to obtain the boys' caps. If they succeed in so doing, and the owners cannot recover their property before the Tuesday, they in their turn must take off the boots of the girls who have robbed them.

May Day.—As in other parts of the north, the same practice is followed as on the first of April, only the name "May gosling" is used in place of "April fool." Beyond this, little notice is now taken of May Day. The Maypole is practically a thing of the past. Horses are decorated with ribbons and flowers, and, I believe, in some towns prizes are given to the owners, or caretakers, of the most

elaborately decked out animals. In country places there is keen competition among the boys, each striving to show the longest string of birds' eggs collected during that year. Care will have been taken to keep these out of doors, as it is unlucky to bring "wild eggs" into the house.

Midsummer Night.—Girls occasionally gather a stem of "Live-long" (*Sedum fabaria*), and suspend it, upside down, from the kitchen ceiling. Should it send out young shoots, or appear to live, and keep succulent till All Hallows Eve, they consider it a sign that their lover will be true, and that they will eventually marry him. After dark, they also plant parsley seed, repeating while they do so:

> "Parsley seed I set, parsley seed I sow,
> The young man 'at I love, come to me now."

Then, should they be destined for matrimony, the future husband will appear in their dreams. Many men fear to sleep out of doors on Midsummer Eve or Day, as "something" might happen to them if they did so.

June.—During summer, the children are fond of making "trees" or "dollies" out of dogtail grass (*Cynosurus cristatus*). Gathering a handful, they twist other individual heads of grass round the stalks of the former, binding bunches of more heads at intervals down the stems, so that they stick out from the sides in a fancied resemblance to branches of trees. In Lincolnshire, the men used to amuse themselves by making similar devices on Sunday afternoons. Beyond passing the time, it did not appear to be done for any definite purpose, though "the tree" was often presented to the lady-love when completed. I mention this pastime as there is a strong likeness between these grass ornaments and some past illustrations —I think in the *Folk-lore Magazine*—of kern-babies. Could it be that the one is a survival of the other? In some parts of the West Riding, the people consider it is unlucky to gather "lady-shakes" or "trembling-jocks" (*Briza media*); in other parts bunches of it are at this time

collected and brought into the house, under the impression that they will drive away mice:

"A Trembling-Jock in the hoose
An' you won't have a moose."

All Hallows Eve.—This is the night for divinations. All spells must be worked in silence, and as much alone as possible—best of all after the rest of the household have retired for the night. The following are some of the most popular:—

1. Write the name of your lover on a very small slip of paper, and after folding it up into a pellet, roll it in pipeclay, so that the whole forms a small pill. Drop this into a basin of water, which should be standing ready. Your lover will be true if the ball falls asunder so as to expose the paper. Should you have a rival, then make two pills, one containing his or her name, one yours. Whichever first breaks will marry the lover.

2. During the day, make a small dough-cake, and at night eat it before the fire, all the time thinking of your sweetheart. As soon as it is eaten, go upstairs backwards, and the last thing before getting into bed, brush your hair in front of the looking-glass. Your future husband will now appear, looking over your shoulder, and reflected in the mirror. If no one appears, it is a sign that you will never marry.

3. Take a Bible. Place the front door key between the leaves, so that the wards cover the words of Song of Sol. viii. 6, 7, and tie it in place securely with your garter. Now suspend the book by yourself and a friend each placing the fore-finger of her left hand under the handle of the key. Each in turn should now repeat these words:

"Turn Bible, turn key,
A, B, C, D, E, F, G,
H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P,
Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z."

When the first letter of the future husband's name is

mentioned, the Bible will slowly turn round. This should be done twice for the Christian and the surname.

4. Eat an apple, and throw the pips into the fire, saying:

> "If you love me, crack and fly;
> If you hate me, burn and die."

5. Stick an onion full of pins, and throw it into the fire. Then, as it burns, say:

> "'Tis not this onion I mean to stick,
> But my lover's heart I mean to prick.
> May he not rest either night or day,
> Till he cometh or sendeth. For this I pray."

When the onion is burnt, retire backwards upstairs. You should then dream of the future husband.

6. Place two chestnuts on the bars, one representing yourself, the other your sweetheart. If when cracking they fly apart, your marriage will not take place; if they remain together, it certainly will.

7. Carefully pare an apple so that the peel comes off entire. Throw the curl of peel over your left shoulder, when it will fall and form the first letter of your future husband's name. (This last is not reserved for All Hallows Eve, and though practised then, may be tried at any time.)

Christmas Season.—From about three weeks before Christmas until the New Year, children come round during the evenings with the "wassail cup," and sing the well-known wassail song from house to house. This "wassail cup" consists of a box, generally as large as the children can conveniently carry, and containing from one to three dolls. One theory is that originally there were always three, representing, it is said, the Virgin, Infant Christ, and James, "the Lord's Brother." The box is ornamented with coloured paper, oranges, rosy apples, glass balls, moss, &c., which are arranged round the dolls, a cloth being thrown over the whole. At Leeds the girls usually

sing the "Seven Joys of Mary," and the "wassail box," as it is called there, has only two dolls in it.

During the weeks before and after Christmas Day, it is customary to give mince-pies (containing fruit mince-meat) to visitors; for every mince-pie eaten in another person's house before New Year's Day brings a happy month in the following year. Pies made of pig mince-meat are also part of the Christmas cheer.

Christmas Eve.—Houses are decorated with evergreens, and in many homes a "Mistletoe" is made and hung from the ceiling. This is composed of two hoops fixed the one inside and across the other. They are covered with evergreens, and decorated with oranges, glass ornaments, and paper flowers. If a piece of mistletoe can be suspended on the centre, so much the better; but even without this addition it may be used for kissing purposes, as is the mystic plant from which it takes its name.

Christmas Day.—In many villages, during the early hours, six boys, known as "The Six Jolly Miners," go round singing from house to house; and from five o'clock small boys go round "to let in Christmas." This is done by calling in a loud voice through the keyhole or letter-box:

> "I wish you a Merry Christmas, a Happy New Year,
> A pocket full of money, and a cellar full of beer,
> And a good fat pig to kill every year.
> Please will you let me IN? (*this word extra loud*)
> A hole in my stocking, a hole in my shoe,
> Please will you give me a copper or two?

When Christmas bills are paid, it is customary to return any fraction of a shilling as a Christmas box for the children of the debtor.

GHOSTS

There is widespread belief in the supernatural. The following legend illustrates one kind of spirit commonly believed in:—

The Haunted Farm.—Near Barnsley, there is an old farmhouse quite in the country, and standing alone in some fields. This place used to be haunted. No one could live there for more than a few weeks at a time, on account of a ghost, whose habit it was to parade the kitchen during the small hours of the morning. The owner at last, driven to desperation, offered a handsome reward to any one who would undertake to sit up for a night, and interview the apparition; for report stated that the ghost would cease "to walk" when a human being was found brave enough to ask it what it wanted. A workman in the neighbourhood at once volunteered, a farm boy undertaking to bear him company. They shut themselves into the haunted kitchen, and at midnight, as they were seated by the fire, they felt a cold wind blow round them, and, turning suddenly, saw the figure of an old man standing behind them. The watchers, nothing daunted, and thinking of the promised reward, asked the ghost its reason for coming; and were instructed, by way of reply, to take up the hearthstone as soon as day broke. In the morning the man and boy did so, and, to the great surprise of all, found concealed beneath it a large bag of money, which was divided between them as a reward for their courage. From that time the house has been undisturbed, nothing more having been seen or heard of its mysterious nightly visitor.

The Grey Cat.—It is always an unlucky omen, and frequently a sign of death, to see the Grey Cat. This spectre is tall and very thin, with big, round, flashing eyes, and it always appears in the dusk of the evening. A woman may go to her cottage door and see it standing in the garden, looking at her; or when she is hurrying home, late in the evening, it will suddenly appear walking before her, and will keep turning its head to look at her out of fiery eyes. The Grey Cat will endeavour to make you follow it, but this you must never do; it is better to go miles out of the way, or even on the field

side of the hedge, than keep to the path if the cat is in front of you.

Jack-in-Irons.—This seems to be a town ghost, who may be seen at any time after dark. He is a terribly strong man, gaunt, and at least ten feet high, with clanking chains at feet and wrists. He suddenly appears in quiet streets, or springs out of dark corners, in order to carry off the unwary pedestrian to unknown regions.

WITCHCRAFT

In many places there still lingers a belief in witchcraft, as may be seen from the following story told by Mrs. R., and firmly believed by all her family and neighbours. She was roasting a goose for the feast, sitting and basting it as it turned on a spit before the fire. Quite suddenly she stuck fast to the chair, and losing all power in hands and feet, was unable to attend to her cooking, which was consequently burnt as black as a coal. Her old man, coming in out of the garden, said: "Hannah, lass! what art a doin' to let t'bod bon?" She explained the state she was in, adding that, without doubt, their neighbour, "Oud Mary," had bewitched her. The husband agreeing this must be the case, suggested that the said Mary should that night "be stoved out"; after which treatment they could judge of her guilt by the state of her hands in the morning. The stoving out was done in the following way: After dusk, the man "made up" all the windows and door, in order to keep their kitchen as air-tight as possible, and having procured a calf's heart and some straw, he stuck the one full of pins, and solemnly burnt it on the other. As soon as the fire touched the flesh, Old Mary came outside, rattling at the door-latch, and begging to be let in. The old couple made no answer, and took no notice. She continued to shout and scream, and the more she did so, the faster and fiercer burnt the heart. Next morning all the skin was torn and burnt off Mary's hands, a sure sign that she had

been the cause of the sudden seizure. Mrs. R. recovered, and when asked if she were not afraid of another attack, answered: "No, lass; we stoved 'er oot; she can niver do aught to *me* again!"

In many places, bread is marked with a cross "to keep the witch out"; and empty egg-shells are broken, as witches might otherwise make use of them. Also, nail-parings and hair-combings are burnt, as, obtaining them, witches would gain power over their original owner. A horse-shoe over the door will render a witch powerless.

PROVERBS, SAYINGS, AND SUPERSTITIONS NOT YET MENTIONED

Regarding Flowers.—If a child picks "black-man-flower" (*Prunella vulgaris*), the devil will carry him off in the night.

"Dead-men's-fingers" (*Orchis mascula*) is a "bad" plant, and must never be gathered.

When the "bod-eye" (*Veronica Chamædrys*) or pimpernel (*Anagallis arvensis*) is open, no rain will fall.

On finding a root of "shepherd's-purse" (*Capsella Bursa-pastoris*), open a seed-vessel; if the seed is yellow you will be rich, but if green you will be poor.

Foxgloves kill all other plants.

If fruit trees blossom out of season, it is an unlucky sign.

It is unlucky to bring hawthorn or fruit blossom into the house.

When striking cuttings, always take three or they will not grow; and if you plant them in a pot, put them close to its edge that it may "draw t'roots oot."

"I will give my apple to those who have an orchard."

"He may blag (gather blackberries) till hips are ripe" (said to imply, he may have all the trouble and wasted time possible for anything I care).

Animal, Bird, and Insect Sayings.—It is unlucky for

a rabbit to cross your path, and a white rabbit, seen after dusk, is a sign of death.

A black cat is lucky, a tabby is a good mouser, a "chintz cat" (tortoiseshell) shows the mistress of the house is a good housewife.

It is unlucky for a cat to die in the house.

If ever there be blood mixed with a cow's milk, it is a sign that the milker has done something very wrong.

When you see your first lamb of the year, or hear the first cuckoo, turn your money for luck. It is unfortunate if you have no money with you at the time.

Rats will not come where guinea-pigs are kept.

If a horse were to turn right over when rolling it would die.

It is unlucky for a rook to fly over the house.

For any bird, except a pigeon or a robin, to enter the house is a sign of good luck.

The first egg of the year which a goose lays will never hatch.

"Many cuckoos make a fine summer."

It is unlucky to set a hen on a Friday, or to allow her to sit on an even number of eggs.

"Too high for the hawk, and too low for the buzzard;" said of people who consider themselves superior to their equals, but are not equal to their superiors.

"He thought he had got a goldfinch, but it proved a wagtail;" said of a man who had married for money, and was disappointed in his expectations.

"It's a poor hen that cannot scratch for her chickens."

A spider in the house without a web is a sign of rain.

To see a spider in the morning is good luck; to see one in the evening bad luck.

It is lucky to have crickets in the house. As a rule they are harmless, but once a year they grow wings, and for a short time can fly about, and will then bite if annoyed.

Should a ladybird settle on an unmarried person, it is a sign that they shall marry and have good luck in life.

Superstitions regarding People.—If your nose itches, shake hands with some one, and say: "Kissed, cursed, or vexed, shake hands with a fool." After this you will not be vexed, but you may be kissed or cursed.

If during the day the right cheek burns, some one is speaking well of you; but if the left cheek burns you are being abused. This is not so in the evening, at which time burning cheeks always show that you are being well spoken of. "Left or right is good at night."

Miscellaneous Sayings.—A falling or shooting star is a soul going to heaven. Shooting stars are also a sign of fine weather.

Never look at a new moon through glass. Go to the door, make a curtsey to her, and wish a wish. "The moon on her back" foretells rain.

A comet foretells war and bloodshed.

If the fire burns badly your sweetheart is in a bad temper. If it burns hollow, or only on one side, it is a sign of parting or of rain. Should a cinder fly out of the fire, it must be carefully examined to ascertain whether it the more resembles a purse or coffin. If the former it will bring good luck, if the latter it foretells death or trouble.

It is unlucky to find a "winding-sheet" in a candle. A "winding-sheet" is a flat piece of wax or tallow, which, drooping over the side, is inclined to wind over on itself. A fragment of wick or rubbish in the flame, causing the candle to burn in an uneven way, is spoken of as "a stranger," and indicates that one is shortly coming to the house. Where there is a little bright point in the flame, it means that a letter may be expected. If on shaking the candle the spark falls, it is a sign that the letter has been posted. Should a candle splutter when it is lighted, or in any way ignite badly, then be sure it is going to rain.

It is unlucky for two letters to cross one another in the post.

If your clothes are mended "on your back," some one will tell lies of you during the day.

It is a lucky thing to accidentally put on a garment inside out.

It is unlucky to stir a neighbour's pudding, or, with the exception of the Christmas pudding, for two people to stir the same.

On finding an old horseshoe, or piece of iron, spit on it, and throw it over the left shoulder for luck.

Should two people wash in the same water, they must each make a cross on the surface, or otherwise they will quarrel.

If a pair of scissors or a knife be given away, they will "cut love" unless a coin be taken in exchange.

To drop a knife at table indicates that a stranger is coming.

It is unlucky to place a bread-loaf upside down, or to break the top off a cottage loaf.

"A rouk-town (gossip) is seldom a good housewife."

"As throng as Thrip's wife when she hanged herself with her dish-clout."

"As queer as Dick's hatband, which went nine times round and wouldn't tie."

"There is a hill against a dale all Wensley Dale over." There is always an advantage to counterbalance a disadvantage.

"Rich man's sickness and poor man's pancakes are smelt a long way off."

"Coal sellers know where coal buyers live." This was said meaning, "a thief knows where to dispose of his theft."

"As straight as a torch."

There are many more sayings and superstitions prevalent in the West Riding, but they are more or less common elsewhere. The folk-lore here given is local, or rather different in form from that found in other parts.

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